STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF COLONIAL GRANVILLE COUNTY

By NANNIE M. TILLEY

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Collet's Map of North Carolina Showing Granville County

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by

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May 15, 1931.

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts
in the Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences
of
Duke University

1931

1931-51
A.M.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In preparing this work I have been helped by various people in Oxford, Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh. An attempt to acknowledge my gratitude to each of those invididuals would be futile, but there are two persons to whom I am especially indebted: Dr. William Kenneth Boyd of Duke University and Nora Campbell Chaffin of the Greensboro High School. To the former I owe especial thanks for constant help as I was confronted with perplexing questions of research, and to the latter my gratitude is due for her enccouragement when I came to solve the technical handicaps involved in writing this thesis.

N. M. T.

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STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF COLONIAL GRANVILLE COUNTY

CHAPTER I

Physical Influences

Extending theoretically from the present easternmost boundaries of Franklin and Warren counties[1] to the Mississippi River,[2] colonial Granville County had a greatly diversified soil and an even climate and temperature. The development of the County is not generally associated, however, with the vast western stretches because they were cut off in 1752 at the formation of Orange County.[3] Granville County was, therefore, a frontier county for the short period from 1746 [4] to 1752.

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1 Walter Clark, (compiler), Act of Assembly, The State Records of North Carolina (1904) XXIII, 249. (Hereafter this compilation will be referred to by the abbreviation, S. R.) John E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin and Granville (1927).

2 William L. Saunders, (compiler), Prefatory Note, The Colonial Records of North Carolina (1882), V, p.xli. (In the future this work will be referred to as C.R.)

3 Letter from Governor Dobbs to Board of Trade, C.R., V, 151.

4 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 248. See Appendix.

The inhabitants were not even familiar with the governmental machinery of their county in 1752. In fact the section had assumed no form as a political unit during the first six years of its existence as a county. It was too cumbersome and huge for the inhabitants to have a definite conception of the whole. When the sobriquet, "Frontier County", was passed on to Orange, Granville became much smaller; though after that, it was composed of four of our present day counties: Granville, Vance, Warren and Franklin. In the light of the above facts, it is only necessary to give the physical features of colonial Granville after Orange County was formed.

From the eastern edge of the County to the western side there is a gradual shading off from the coastal plain to the beginning of the Piedmont section. The range in altitude from one hundred seventy five feet at Anderson bridge [5] to five hundred forty four feet at Lewis [6] is more or less indicative of the average gradation from east to west. Anderson bridge in the southeastern section of Franklin County and on the Tar River is more than one hundred feet lower than any other recorded altitude of the section which composed colonial Granville. Lewis, which is a few miles north of Oxford, is almost the same height as the other places nearby. It would really be more to the

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5 Joseph Hyde Pratt, (Compiler), "Altitudes in North Carolina," North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey (1917), Bulletin No. 27, p. 78.

6 Ibid., 80.

point to say that the altitude ranges from two hundred ninety five feet at Bunn [7] to five hundred forty four feet at Lewis. The actual variability of the elevations within the boundaries of the County is three hundred sixty nine feet, but for practical purposes a variation of two hundred forty nine feet gives a truer indication of the topography of the County.

This gently rolling section of North Carolina is remarkably well-watered. Innumerable creeks form the Tar and Neuse rivers within the boundaries of the County, while countless others flow toward Virginia into the Roanoke River. Part of the Roanoke water shed, one section of the Tar divide and part of the Neuse drainage system lie in Granville.

Every part of the County is touched directly or indirectly by a strong free running creek. Across the northern section several creeks flow northward. Beginning in the northwestern corner and going east, there are Aaron's, Beech, Grassy, Spew Marrow, Island, Nutbush, Smith's, Six Pound, and Stonehouse creeks. The ones that flow southward into the Tar are hardly as large as those flowing into the Roanoke. Most important of these are Shelton's, North Fork, Owen, Fishing, Gibbs, Tabb's, Buffalo, Toole's, Bear Swamp, Sycamore and Cypress creeks. Adcock, Middle, Jackson, Buffalo, Camp, and Norris creeks drain the

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7 J. H. Pratt, "Altitudes in North Carolina," North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, Bulletin No. 27, p. 78.

region south of the Tar. The Neuse River itself touches the southwestern corner of the County for a few miles, and in that section, flowing into the Neuse are Knap of Reeds, Ledge of Rocks, and Newlight creeks. Aside from these groups we find Little Fishing, Great Fishing, and Shocco creeks flowing southeasterly and eventually reaching the Tar in eastern Granville.[8] Due to the lack of elevation these creeks and rivers have little or no value for water power. The altitude of the County foretold a lack of manufacturing, but, at the same time, it presaged agricultural pursuits for the entire section. The water courses seem to have been planned to facilitate agriculture. Fertile soil on their banks, sufficient power for grist mills, and a lack of enough power to encourage other forms of industry, all contrived to give the occupation of farming to a great number of the inhabitants.

The streams in Granville do not move sluggishly as they do farther to the east. In the adjacent counties of Halifax and Northampton, the lowest elevations are sixty-seven feet [9] and fifty-eight feet [10] respectively. Consequently, there are swamps and slow-moving streams just east of Granville and the

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8 John E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin and Granville.

9 J. H. Pratt, "Altitudes in North Carolina," North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, Bulletin No. 27, p. 82.

10 Ibid., 82.

County barely escapes being in the poorly drained marshlands. Without needing drainage but with numberless stretches of low grounds, Granville is doubly fortunate in having the advantages of both the coastal plain and the Piedmont section.

Warren and Franklin counties, which were cut off from Granville in 1764 to form old Bute,[11] have soils that are favorable to agriculture. Warren is almost level but gently rolling in some portions with a soil that is not very uniform. Practically all of it has a clay subsoil. Varying from a heavy red and yellow clay to a light sandy loam, the land is considered to be excellent agricultural soil.[12] Contiguous to Warren and on the south lies what is now known as Franklin County, which was formerly the southeastern section of Granville. Here, on the edge of the rolling uplands, is a greater variety of soils than in Warren.[13] In the lower part of the County there is a light, sandy soil with a clay subsoil, but in the middle and upper portions the soil is chiefly residual clay or clay loam formed by the decomposition of old granite rocks. In several places the old granite rocks appear above the soil, chiefly in Cedar

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11 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 625.

12 J. H. Pratt, "Timber Resources of Warren County," North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, (1914), Press Bulletin No. 115, p. 1.

13 W. F. Green, J. J. Davis, A. Arrington, Sketch of History and Resources of Franklin County, prepared for North Carolina State Exposition, (1881), 7.

Rock Township. Sandy areas are found in some sections of the County, but a great deal of the soil is yellow or red clay of a gravelly texture.[14]

Coming into the central part of old Granville, now known as Vance County, we find the same general characteristics: upland soils and alluvial lowlands. The upland soils, like much of the land in Franklin, have been formed by the decomposition of underlying rocks; chief among these rocks is granite which tends to form a fertile soil. Types of soil known as Cecil, Durham, Appling, Davidson, Iredell, Wilkes, Georgeville and Alamance constitute the varieties which had their origin in rock formations.[15]

Of these soils the Durham sandy loam, lying in the central and southeastern parts, is perhaps the most desirable of the upland types. It is quite well-drained because of its undulating surface;[16] cultivation is also easy because the surface soil is a light gray, loamy sand of six to eight inches in depth with a subsoil of yellow, fairly compact clay. Deep cultivation is unnecessary, thus making it especially suitable for pioneer

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14 J. H. Pratt, "Timber Resources of Franklin County," North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, (1914), Press Bulletin No. 143, p. 1.

15 S. O. Perkins, Soil Survey of Vance County, North Carolina, (1921), 30.

16 Ibid., 31.

farmers.[17] Another desirable property of this soil is its quickness to gather warmth in the spring, thereby allowing early planting. Durham sandy loam also produced a heavy forest growth.[18]

In the northern and southern extremities of Vance is another important soil scientifically known as the Appling sandy loam.[19] The top soil usually consists of a gray, mellow, sandy loam mixed with a little fine gravel while the subsoil is a heavy, yellowish, sandy clay.[20] In some places this type of soil is interspersed with outcrops of granite. Good drainage is naturally found in the Appling sandy loam on account of the slightly rolling topography and the gravel mixed in the top soil.[21] The Durham and Appling sandy loams compose the greatest part of the uplands in the region called Vance County.

Among the alluvial soils there are two varieties, known as the Roanoke silt loam and the meadow or Congaree material.[22] Very little of the former is fit for cultivation, but it has an excellent stand of coarse grass which is valuable for cattle grazing.[23] The Congaree silt loam, though, is suitable for

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17 S. O. Perkins, Soil Survey of Vance County, North Carolina, 17.

18 Ibid., 18.

19 Ibid., 18.

20 Ibid., 18.

21 Ibid., 21.

22 Ibid., 31.

23 Ibid., 28.

pasturage and for the easy production of corn.[24] Congaree silt loams are usually on the water courses and are frequently subject to overflows, but the water seldom remains on the land for any length of time. However, crops are occasionally harmed by freshets which flood the lowgrounds. As is to be expected, the broadest expanses of silt loam are found along Nutbush and Tabb's creeks, though stretches of it lie on Tar River, Ruin, Dodson's, Flat, Island, and Little Island creeks.[25] Running the gamut, from naturally productive lowlands to the Wilkes fine sandy loam, a very unproductive soil, the middle section of old Granville could furnish practically any type of land desired. The soil of Vance is a fair sample of that found throughout colonial Granville.

In Granville County, as it exists today, the general soil formation is somewhat similar to that of Vance in that it consists of uplands and alluvial soils. The lands along the streams correspond identically with the Roanoke and Congaree varieties on the streams of Vance,[26] but the upland soils differ to a greater extent.

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24 S. O. Perkins, Soil Survey of Vance County, North Carolina, 31.

25 Ibid., 29.

26 R. B. Hardison, D. D. Long, Soil Survey of Granville County, North Carolina, (1912), 19.

The soils of the more elevated portions of Granville originated from three principal rock belts.[27] In the northwestern section is the underlying slate formation,[28] but passing to the south, the granite and gneiss belt is entered, while the south central portion of the County lies in the sandstone formation. The residual soils, derived from the slates, loams and rough, stony lands, are characterized by a fine, silky texture. Throughout the granite belt the soil is a loam, varying from a coarse variety to a very fine sandy type. The area in the sandstone formation contains the form of soil that is generally termed the Granville coarse sandy loam.[29] Of these soils, the Granville coarse sandy loam is probably considered as one of the best types of soil in the County for easy fertilization.[30]

Along with the desirable soil, there is a pleasant climate throughout the County. By choosing Henderson, a point very nearly in the central part of what was colonial Granville, we can get a fair idea of the weather conditions for the area. The average annual temperature is approximately fifty-nine degrees Fahrenheit, while the average in summer is seventy-eight degrees, and in winter about thirty-nine degrees. These temperatures

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27 R. B. Hardison, D. D. Long, Soil Survey of Granville County, North Carolina, 44.

28 Ibid., 17.

29 Ibid., 18.

30 Ibid., 39.

give summers that are not too hot and winters that are mild. The rainfall is also very nearly ideal; it is well distributed throughout the seasons and averages about forty eight and one-half inches.[31] A heavier precipitation in summer and lighter in fall is another physical factor which influenced the establishment of agriculture as the leading industry. The first killing frost in the fall comes about October 31, while the last one in spring falls around April 6. Consequently, the area has a growing season of two hundred eight days which is ample for producing practically any crop of the temperate belt.[32] The pleasant temperature, well distributed rainfall, and long growing season helped to establish the farming industry very firmly.

Being so favored geographically Granville naturally has a wide range of vegetation. The original forest growth was hardwood, consisting of such varieties as oak and walnut. Mixed with the oak, and extending practically throughout all sections of the County was a growth of original pine also.[33] In the early days there was an excellent growth of canes, reeds,[34]

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31 S. O. Perkins, Soil Survey in Vance County, North Carolina, 7.

32 Ibid., 7.

33 J. H. Pratt, "Timber Resources of Granville County," North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, Press Bulletin, No. 126, p. 2.

34 William K. Boyd, (editor), William Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, (1929), 162.

and grasses[35] which is also true in a much less extensive fashion today. In 1728 Colonel William Byrd was favorably impressed by the "Meadows cloth'i with very rank-Grass, and Branchess full of tall Reeds, in which Cattle keep themselves fat good part of the Winter."[36] He also noted the fact that many of the streams in the vicinity of Nutbush Creek were bordered by an exceedingly luxuriant growth of reeds.[37] Reports of such bountiful forage in the region that later became Granville County were not slow in circulating in the neighboring counties of Virginia, where they possibly impressed the people as they did Byrd, and no doubt proved to be a beacon for leading settlers into Granville.[38]

An additional attraction for an earlier and different type of settler was the varied and abundant wild life of the County; many of the animals were valuable as food and some for their hides. Epaphroditus Bainton, an early settler on the borders of Granville, earned his living by ranging the woods for deer; at the age of sixty he generally killed more than one hundred deer annually.[39] Bear was not so numerous, but when fat, their

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35 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 162.

36 Ibid., 154.

37 Ibid., 162.

38 Letter from Mr. Byrd to Captain Burrington, C.R., III, 195.

39 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 157.

flesh was considered a very choice meat. To quote William Byrd, "The Paw (which when stript of the hair, looks like a Human Foot,) is accounted a dilicious Morsel by all who are not Schockt at the ungracious Resemblance it bears to a Human Foot."[40] Between Blue Wing and Grassy creeks there were many buffaloes,[41] and no doubt they were very plentiful in all parts of the County. Byrd has left us an excellent description of a buffalo which was killed near Blue Wing Creek in 1728.[42] "...one of the men had the Luck to meet with a Young Buffalo of two Years Old. It was a Bull, which, notwithstanding he was no older, was as big as an ordinary Ox. His Legs are very thick and very Short, and his Hoofs exceedingly broad. His Back rose into a kind of Bunch a little above the Shoulders, which I believe contributes not a little to that creature's enormous Strength. His Body is vastly deep from the shoulders to the Brisket, sometimes 6 feet in those that are full grown. The portly figure of this Animal is disgrac'd by a Shabby little Tail, not above 12 inches long. This he cocks up on end whenever he's in a Passion, and, instead of lowing or bellowing, grunts with no better grace than a Hog.

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40 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 163.

41 Ibid., 167.

42 Captain Collet, A Compleat Map of North Carolina; John E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin, and Granville; W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 286-88.

"The Hair growing on his Head and Neck is long and Shagged, and so Soft that it will Spin into Thread not unlike Mohair, which might be wove into a Sort of Camlet. Some People have Stockings knit of it, that would have serv'd an Israelite during his forty Years' march thro' the Wilderness.

"Its horns are short and Strong, of which the Indians make large Spoons, which they say will Split and fall to Pieces whenever Poison is put into them. Its Colour is a dirty Brown, and its hide so thick that it is Scarce penetrable. However, it makes very Spongy Sole Leather by the ordinary method of Tanning, tho' this fault might by good Contrivance be mended.

"As thick as this poor Beast's Hide was, a Bullet made Shift to enter it and fetch him down. It was found all alone, tho' Buffaloes Seldom are. They usually range about in Herds, like other cattle, and tho' they differ something in figure, are certainly of the Same Species. There are two Reasons for this Opinion: the Flesh of both has exactly the same taste, and the mixed Breed betwixt both, they say, will generate. All the Difference I could perceive between Flesh of Buffalo and Common Beef was, that the Flesh of the first was much Yellower than that of the other, and the Lean something tougher."

There were also innumerable flocks of wild turkeys,[43] wild

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[43] W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 168, 178, 293.

geese,[44] and beavers[45] to furnish food and a means of livlihood for those pioneers who were the forerunners of more regular forms of industry. The beaver, however, furnished the greatest inducement to the early settler because of the very profitable trade in its fur at that time.[46] According to contemporary report they were very numerous in the northern section of Granville in 1728 [47] and proof of their existence in unusual numbers has been left in the names of several creeks in present day Warren, Vance, Franklin, and Granville counties. On the other hand, certain animals like the rattlesnake,[48] the wolf, the wild cat,[49] and the squirrel[50] were great pests. In 1773 the Assembly offered bounties of ten shillings, and two shillings and six pence proclamation money for the killing of wolves and wild cats, respectively, in Granville County.[51] Squirrels, as late as 1762, were so numerous as to be pests,and the Assembly, in

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44 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 158.

45 Ibid., 292.

46 Ibid., 294; John Lawson, History of Carolina, Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country, (1714), 198.

47 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 164, 292.

48 Ibid., 158.

49 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 914.

50 House Journals, C.R., VI, 941.

51 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 914.

direct contrast to present conservation programs, was constantly devising schemes for ridding the County of them. So great was their damage to growing crops that they were referred to as vermin in the local bills which were passed for their destruction in Granville.[52] However, the wild life of the County was so abundant that it was an excellent source of food supply, and when, between Grassy and Island creeks,[53] Byrd was moved to remark, "that no man need to despair of his daily Bread in the Woods," he was referring to the extensive supply of animal life in colonial Granville.[54]

The hand of nature was not so lavish in dispensing mineral wealth as it was in distributing agricultural favors. There is a vein of red hematitic iron ore of commercial value at Knap of Reeds, almost on the western boundary of the County. At and near Seth Post Office a vein of magnetite iron occurs,[55] while both types are found in limited amounts near Oxford.[56] Some magnetite also exists in the northwestern part of Old Granville.

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52 House Journals, C.R., VI, 931, 948.

53 Collet, Map of North Carolina; J. E. Buck, Map of Warren, Vance, Franklin and Granville.

54 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 294.

55 Henry Nitze, Iron Ores of North Carolina, Bulletin no. 1 of North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, (1893),222.

56 F. A. Genth and W. C. Kerr, Minerals and Mineral Localities of North Carolina, (1881), Chap. I of Second Volume of the Geology of North Carolina, 103.

Gold is found at Ransom's Bridge in Warren,[57] and in Granville, at Young's Cross Roads, on Tar River near Oxford, and in Sassafras Fork Township.[58] In Franklin one of the townships has been named Gold Mine Township due to the fact that gold has been mined at the Partis Mine[59] on the eastern border of Franklin. Lying on the borders of Person and Granville counties, and the state of Virginia, there is a mining district where the chief ore is copper.[60] A number of shafts have been sunk, and it is an established fact that the ore is valuable commercially.[61] There are slight traces of a few other metals in Granville, but none of them is of any importance.

In resumé we find that Granville topography is characterized as a whole by an undulating surface broken by narrow strips of alluvial soil near the streams. It would be quite difficult to survey a five hundred-acre tract of land without including both rolling land and narrow plains in its bounds. On some of the streams the alluvial plains are more extensive than on others,

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57 F. A. Genth and W. C. Kerr, Minerals and Mineral Localities of North Carolina, Chap. I of Second Volume of the Geology of North Carolina, 119.

58 Ibid., 103-04.

59 Ibid., 102.

60 Francis B. Laney, The Geology and Ore Deposits of the Virgilina District of Virginia and North Carolina, North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, Bulletin no. 26, (1917), p. 74.

61 Ibid., 164.

but they are present on practically all the water courses. Thus, it would seem that the hand of nature played a remarkably strong role in determining the occupation of the inhabitants of Granville. The settlers, placed in such an environment, really had no choice concerning an occupation. With an abundance of land, there was no necessity for cultivating the poor stony soil which is interspersed to a small extent over some areas of the County. One can almost sense the cogitations of the early settlers as they inspected the country. At a time when agriculture was the prevailing industry, Granville, with a limitless number of creeks, and fertile lowgrounds, must have been a veritable Eden for the exploring and ever-moving pioneers.

It is safe, then, to assume that the well drained farming soil, pleasant climate, favorable growing season, stretches of pine and hardwood forests, and the abundance of wild animals were wholly instrumental in Granville's settlement. No question of water power, nor valuable minerals, nor broad navigable rivers prompted its settlement; the chief attraction lay in the soils.

CHAPTER II

Indians and Colonization

Our first knowledge of Granville and vicinity comes from John Lawson, the surveyor and historian, who made a trip into the interior of North Carolina, either in 1704 or soon after. It is doubtful that Lawson did more than skirt through the edge of the County on his journey from Hillsboro to the Falls of the Neuse. He came from Achonechy town (Hillsboro) to another Indian town, Adshusheer, probably north of Durham.[1] From there they traveled apparently southeast, and to quote Lawson, "the first night we lay in a rich pocoson or lowground that was hard by a creek and good dry land." The following day their path lay through several tracts of rich and indifferent land. Pines were the chief trees.[2] This description fits the

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1 John Lawson, History of Carolina, 97-98.

2 Ibid., 99.

southwestern corner of Granville perfectly, and if Lawson did not touch the County itself, his observations on the land and Indians are quite as true for Granville at that time as for any nearby point.

Lawson was followed by a more verbose historian in the person of William Byrd. His account of running the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina in 1728 gives interesting particulars of northern Granville, both on the way to the mountains and on the return.[3] Any unnamed streams that flowed toward the Roanoke were named by Byrd's party, or in case they were already named, he recorded it. Hawtree Creek in Hawtree Township of Warren County was so named when Byrd passed over it more than two hundred years ago. He also mentioned the Trading Path which forded Hawtree Creek.[4] The name by which he referred to Smith Creek, however, did not endure so long; it was called Great Creek. As he came into what is now Vance County, Byrd found Nutbush Creek already so designated on account of the hazel nut trees growing on its banks.[5] Massamony or Massamoni Creek, so named by the Indians

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3 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 160-167, 286-299.

4 See Chapter VII on Trading Path.

5 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 162; Henry Mouzon, An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina, (1775); J. E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin and Granville.

because the name signified "in their Language, Paint-Creek, which because of the great Quantity of Red ochre found on its banks" is now known as Island Creek. An Indian name, Yapatsco or Beaver Creek, was given the next stream toward the west, and Grassy Creek was then called "in the Saponi Language, Chimpamoni, Signifying Jumping Creek, from the frequent Jumping of Fish during the Spring Season."[6] Byrd and his party themselves named Blue Wing Creek on account of the many blue-wings, a small creek-water duck.[7] In addition to naming and describing the creeks, Byrd's account touches on the soil, animals, vegetation[8] and Indians of the section that later became Granville.

Inasmuch as records indicate, Indians in and around Granville County were very numerous. In 1676, due to trouble over beaver skins and difficulties with the Susquehannas, the Occaneechi Indians moved from Occaneechi Island in the Roanoke River to Hillsboro. Therefore, between 1676 and 1701 the entire tribe crossed over Granville County to Hillsboro where Lawson found them in 1701.[9] The logical way for them to have made the trip would have been over the Trading Path.[10] The

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6 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 164.

7 Ibid., 166f.

8 See Chapter I, 11.

9 John Lawson, History of Carolina, 97; Frederick Webb Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, (1910), II, 103.

10 See Chapter VI, Roads and Communication, 132.

Maherrins lived east from Granville,[11] and so did the Tuscaroras,[12] but many of the latter lived in Granville along the headwaters of the Neuse River in the vicinity of Knap of Reeds Creek.[13] A Tutelo tribe and the Saponi were settled barely over the Granville line in Virginia;[14] the Nottaway Indians were also nearby,[15] as were the Nansemonds.[16] Granville, then, was part of the original home of the Tuscaroras and the hunting ground for several other tribes. Therefore one may expect that Indians were there in great numbers. In 1753 the Assembly appointed Commissioners in Granville and three frontier counties to furnish provisions for the Indians who were allied with the province against the French and Cherokees.[17] Later Andrew Hampton of Granville presented a bill to the Assembly for having

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11 Council Journals, C.R., II, 644; Bishop Spangenburg's Diary, C.R., V, 1.

12 Bishop Spangenburg's Diary, C.R., V, 1; F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, II, 842.

13 John Spencer Bassett, "A Journey to Eden," The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esq,, 283; W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 290. (Near Knap of Reeds Creek there is a hill still known as "Indian Grave Hill" where there was evidently an Indian burying ground.

14 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 310; F. W. Hodge, op. cit., II, 855.

15 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 113.

16 Lieut. Gov. Gooch's Answer to Queries, C.R., III, 89.

17 House Journals, C.R., V, 853.

accomodated one hundred sixty Indians in Granville County.[18] In order to contribute that number of warriors, there must have been a large Indian population in the County. As late as 1755 a man who murdered his family on Flat Rock Creek spread the alarm that the Indians had done it, and the report was generally believed.[19]

The Tuscaroras, no doubt, were the most numerous, especially before the Indian Massacre in 1711. Apparently they lived in other parts of Granville besides the section around Knap of Reeds Creek; they were in the northern part of the County between Grassy and Island Creeks. After the war they were supposed not to be so numerous;[20] yet they were still present in considerable numbers in 1766.[21] Next in importance were the Saponi. In 1728 Byrd had Saponi hunters to supply his men with game,[22] and many streams in northern Granville received their names from the Saponi. From 1753 to 1758 there was a small band of the Saponi living slightly north of Henderson. They probably never numbered more than thirty at that particular

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18 House Journals, C.R., V, 853.

19 A. R. Newsome, (compiler) "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811," North Carolina Historical Review, VI (1929), 172.

20 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 290.

21 Council Journals, C.R., VII, 300.

22 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 160.

spot, but, the tribe as a whole, seems to have been much more thoroughly acquainted with the surrounding country than any other tribe in the vicinity. William Eaton was their mentor because they lived on his land and he acted as interpreter for them.[23] The fact that he could act as their interpreter indicates that he had been accustomed to dealing with them in great numbers. Likewise, there were a few Maherrin warriors in the County in 1753.[24] The warlike Tuscaroras constitute a familiar chapter in North Carolina history, but the Saponi, not being so important in the colony as in Granville County, have not been fully treated. According to Byrd's treatise on the Saponi they lived originally on the Yadkin River, but they fought other tribes so often that they were weakened. Then their enemies fell on them and they applied to Virginia for protection. In 1703 they settled at Christiana, ten miles north of the Roanoke from where many of them probably drifted into Granville. The County was a hunting ground for the Saponi who were really a union of Saponi, Occaneechi and Conestoga Indians. Later the Saponi moved to the Catawba River, and the Occaneechi to Hillsboro.

The Saponi had customs and failings that were common to

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23 Report of Committee of Public Claims, C.R. , V, 981; Item Received with Gov. Dobb's Letter, C.R., V, 321; Abstracts of Returns from Several Counties, C.R., V, 162.

24 Prefatory Note, C.R., V, p.xli.

Indian tribes. As a rule they were cleaner than the average Indian, but, on the other hand, they fell a prey to rum. In fact the whites in the vicinity of the Roanoke River sold them so much whiskey that the Indians' morals were debauched and their health weakened. They were fond of show and loved to impress the whites.[35] Their religious belief was admirably explained by Bearskin, the Indian hunter for the dividing line expedition.[36]

"He told us he believ'd there was one Supreme God, who had several Subaltern Deities under Him. And that this Master-God made the World a long time ago. That he told the Sun, the Moon, and Stars, their Business in the Beginning, which they, with good looking after, have faithfully perform'd ever Since.

"That the same Power that made all things at first has taken care to keep them in the same Method and Motion ever since.

"He believ'd God had form'd many Worlds before he form'd this, that those worlds either grew old and ruinous, or were destroyed for the Dishonesty of the Inhabitants.

"That God is very just and very good - ever well pleas'd with those men who possess those God-like Qualities. That he takes good People into his safe Protection, makes them very rich, fills their Bellies plentifully, preserves them from sickness, and from being surpriz'd or Overcome by their Enemies.

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35 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 308-11.

36 Ibid., 198, 200, 202.

"But all such as tell Lies, and Cheat those they have Dealings with, he never fails to punish with Sickness, Poverty and Hunger, and, after all that, Suffers them to be knockt on the Head and scalpt by those that fight against them.

"He believ'd that after Death both good and bad People are conducted by a strong Guard into a great Road in which departed Souls travel together for sometime, till at a certain Distance this Road forks into two Paths, the one extremely Levil, and the other Stony and Mountainous.

"Here the good are parted from the Bad by a flash of Lightening, the first being hurry'd away to the Right, the other to the Left. The Right hand Road leads to a charming warm Country, where the Spring is everlasting, and every Month is May; and as the year is always in its Youth, so are the People, and particularly the Women are bright as Stars, and never Scold.

"That in this happy Climate there are Deer, Turkeys, Elks, and Buffaloes, innumerable, perpetually fat and gentle, while the Trees are loaded with delicious Fruit quite throughout the four Seasons.

"That the Soil brings forth Corn Spontaneously, without the Curse of Labour, and so very wholesome, that None who have the happiness to eat of it are ever Sick, grow old, or dy.

"Near the Entrance into this Blessed Land Sits a Venerable Old Man on a Mat richly woven, who examines Strictly all that are brought before Him, and if they have behav'd well, the

Guards are order'd to open the Crystal Gate, and let them enter into the Land of Delights.

"The Left Hand Path is very rugged and uneaven, leading to a dark and barren Country, where it is always Winter. The Ground is the whole year round cover'd with Snow, and nothing is to be seen upon the Trees but Icicles.

"All the People are hungry, yet have not a Morsel of anything to eat, except a bitter kind of Potato, that gives them the Dry-Gripes, and fills their whole Body with loathsome Ulcers, that Stink, and are unsupportably painfull.

"Here all the Women are old and ugly, having Claws like a Panther, with which they fly upon the Men that Slight their Passion. For it seems these haggard old Furies are intolerably fond, and expect a vast deal of Cherishing. They talk much and Exceedingly Shrill, giving exquisite Pain to the Drum of the Ear, which in that Place of the Torment is so tender, that every Sharp Note wounds it to the Quick.

"At the End of this Path sits a dreadful old Woman on a monstrous Toad-Stool, whose head is cover'd with Rattle-Snakes instead of Tresses, with glaring white Eyes, that strike a Terror unspeakable into all that behold her.

"This Hag pronounce Sentences of Woe upon all the miserable Wretches that hold up their hands at her Tribunal. After this they are deliver'd over to huge Turkey-Buzzards, like Harpys, that fly away with them to the Place above mentioned.

"Here, after they have been tormented a certain Number of years, according to their several Degrees of Guilt, they are

again driven back into this World, to try if they will mend their Manners, and merit a place the next time in the Region of Bliss."

By degrees the white settlers wrested from the Indians the area which later became Granville. Fear of the numerous Indians made the process very slow and only a few brave spirits dared to enter the country for many years. In the gradual winning of the land from the Indians there may be seen the usual familiar story of pioneer hunters living among the Indians, followed by a steady seepage of whites into the Indian territory until the tribes suddenly awoke to the realization that their possessions were being encroached upon. There is practically no evidence of the presence of white settlers in Granville until after the strength of the Tuscaroras was broken in 1711. From that date on, the arrival of whites in the County was steady.

An unknown author writing in 1810 says that a dread of the numerous Indians in Warren County prevented its earlier settlement. As pointed out above, the Indians were numerous and there can be no doubt of the truth of the forgotten writer's statement. The exact date of Granville's settlement probably came soon after the Tuscarora trouble in 1711, when the fiercest of the County's Indians had been quieted. In 1728 the most westerly settler had not come as far west as Granville on the northern boundary.[27] The existence of earlier settlers in the southeastern

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[27] W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 298.

part of the County seems scarcely plausible, because pioneers from the East would more naturally follow the Roanoke into Granville. They could, however, have followed the Tar from the Bath vicinity, but the only such record[28] is veiled in uncertainty. The story of old Popcastle, which is one mile west of Kittrell on the Linbank Road, agrees with the theory that the earliest settlers came from Bath. The section around Kittrell was beginning to be settled about 1720, when a large party arrived at old Bath and made their way toward Granville. They settled on Rum Creek near the Linbank Road. Here, a mysterious and imposing house was built of enormous hewn logs and occupied by two men, the one a tall, elegantly dressed gentleman who was never seen except from a distance, and the other a Scotch servant who acted as guard and referred to his master as "My Lord." The servant paid liberally for what was bought, but never answered any inquisitive questions. This state of affairs continued until 1734 when a caravan of horses carried them off, and they were never heard of again. But in five weeks another mysterious character moved in; he built sheds, a race track, and a cock pit. Then the sign, "Popcastle Inn - Entertainment for

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28 C. W. Raney, Old Popcastle, Its History and Mysteries, (1917). The person who gave the account was in his nineties, seventy years before the publication of this pamphlet. He heard it from his grandfather who lived to be one hundred years old. The grandfather said that he came to the settlement when "the Blue Ridge was not over three feet high, and Tar River was nothing more than a spring branch;" Hence little credence can be put in it except as other records seem to indicate a slight element of truth.

Man and Beast" appeared. Captain Popcastle spent money lavishly and was generally believed to have been a pirate. The popularity of the inn drew people from miles around. After enjoying this prosperity and independence for nearly fifteen years, heavily armed men came and arrested the Captain by authority of the King on the charge of being a pirate. Popularity of the inn continued under other proprietors until it began to wane during and after the Revolution. Whether this story be fact[29] or tradition, it establishes some basis for the assumption that the earliest settlers entered Granville from the southeast.

Another story which further bears out the theory is based on the fact that Granville's settlement began about 1715.[30] "The first white woman who came into Granville was Abigail Sugan, a French Huguenot. She married a man by the name of Cook, who was so improvident that his wife was under the necessity of swaddling their first born with old meal sacks hastily gathered up at his little mill. Cook having died, she married, the second time, a man by the name of Christmas, who lived at the place now known as Jones' White Sulphur Springs, in Warren County. The fact that the first woman was French makes more

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29 Granville County Court Record, (1820-1822), 3. (In the office of the Clerk of Court at Oxford, N. C.) Further proof of some vestige of truth in the story is found in the fact that the name, Pop Castle, lingered as a name for one of the places of election in Granville as late as 1820.

30 Robert I. Devin, A History of Grassy Creek Baptist Church, (1880), 22ff.

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plausible yet, the theory that the very earliest Granville settlers came into the County from the Bath vicinity.

Between the years of 1711 and 1746 there came so many people from the East and from Virginia[31] that the region became populous enough to be made into a separate county. In the act[32] which authorized Granville's formation, the reason for so doing was that Edgecombe County was so extensively settled that the transaction of public business had become very difficult. It also stated that Edgecombe was a frontier county. Collection of county and parish taxes was almost an impossibility due to the great size of Edgecombe; militia duty was also difficult to handle.[33] Granville became a frontier county in 1746 and the steady stream of Virginians into the County continued unabated;[34] so much so that in 1755 the Reverend Hugh McAden, on a visit to

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31 Granville County Deed Books, Volumes A through L. In Office of Register of Deeds at Oxford, N. C.) (Both the name Cook and Christmas were familiar among the names of early landholders in Granville.) Granville County Deed Book, A, 245; E, 18; J, 43. (Hereafter all references to the deed books will be by volume indicated by a letter, and page, as, A, 245.)

32 See Act for Dividing Edgecombe, in the Appendix.

33 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 249-50.

34 "Marriage Bonds at Oxford," William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, XIII (July, 1914), 23-24. (Thirty seven marriage bonds are given, dated from 1756 to 1773. A footnote states that, "Nearly all these people emigrated from Virginia."

Granville, was told that the inhabitants were principally from Virginia.[35]

During the colonial period three hundred ~~and~~ two separate registered tracts of land were granted to Virginians who came into North Carolina as land holders;[36] doubtless many others failed to have their holdings registered. Many of the people who came certainly were not free holders and there is no way to ascertain even the approximate number of Virginia settlers other than to say that many others came, in addition to those who registered grants of land.

From the neighboring counties of Brunswick, Isle of Wight, Surry, Nansemond, Lunenburg, and Southampton poured a continuous stream of Virginia farmers into Granville, seeking more room and better soil. Settlers from these counties continued to arrive in Granville throughout the colonial period. Their proximity to such a vast unsettled area may possibly help to explain their settlement in Granville. These were not, however, the only Virginia counties that contributed settlers to the County. As early as 1748, now and then, immigrants arrived from Albemarle and Hanover counties. Later Amelia and Culpeper counties began to contribute their quota.

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35 Rev. Wm. Henry Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, (1846), 166.

36 Granville County Deed Books, A - L furnish with few exceptions the basis for this entire discussion relative to the Virginia counties from which the Granville settlers came.

In the cases of these later-mentioned counties, proximity was not the moving influence. In 1752 the tide of settlers from Hanover County increased, and five years later several others came. This influx from Hanover might be distantly connected with the religious disturbances which arose there in 1740.[37] Many people were indicted for dissenting from the Established Church in Hanover.[38] Having heard of the excellent farming lands in Granville, it is presumable that many of the settlers from Hanover came into the County for religious reasons as well as from economic reasons. Evidently some of the early colonists in northern Granville were from 'humble walks of life.'[39] In 1769 there were many Baptists settled in Granville, and they were considered as great bigots by the minister of the Established Church who avowed his intention of using every prudent method at his disposal to abolish dissension.[40] In the following excerpt [41] from his letter the same minister gave a summary of the religious life in Granville that seems to be borne out by other contemporary records:

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37 Charles Campbell, History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia, (1860), 438.

38 Ibid., 442.

39 R. I. Devin, History of Grassy Creek Baptist Church, 26.

40 Letter from Reverend James McCartney to the Secretary of S.P.G., C.R., VIII, 85.

41 Ibid., VIII, 85.

"...In the beginning of June, I went to Granville, by the advice of Governor Tryon: where I was cordially received by the people, and they still continue to render my life as agreeable as the situation of the place admits of. Since I settled here I have baptized 221 whites and 79 Blacks exclusive of the number above mentioned. There are many Presbyterians in this Parish, and they have a minister settled amongst them. There are likewise many Baptists here, who are great Bigots; but be well assured, Reverend Sir, that I will (from a sense of my Duty and just gratitude to the Society) take every prudent method I am capable of to abolish Dissension and make converts to the Church."

However, the matter of settling the County by religious dissenters was not very far reaching. No such motive can be attributed to the numerous settlers already mentioned, nor to those from Dinwiddie, Goochland, Bedford, Westmorland, Chesterfield, Louisa, Northumberland, Prince George, Accomac, King and Queen, Pittsylvania, and Faquier counties, all of which contributed many colonists for Granville's settlement. The Virginia settlers cannot be traced to any definite locality of the colony. They seem to have come from all sections of Virginia. More came from Surry, Mecklenburg, and Hanover than from other sections, due to the proximity of the first two to Granville, and to a slight religious disturbance coupled with a desire for land on the part of the Hanover settlers. It can be definitely stated, then, that twenty-eight Virginia counties furnished settlers for Granville, and that the County drew its settlers from practically all sections of Virginia except the Eastern Shore, because before the

original counties of Virginia were subdivided, the above mentioned twenty-eight represented a great part of the colony. The source of these Virginia settlers can, however, largely be limited to the Piedmont section. The Granville County family that cannot trace its forbears to some pioneering Virginian is an exception.[42] Governor Martin, in 1772, remarked that Granville had been settled by people who had migrated from Virginia.[43]

Numerous reflections have been cast on the type of Virginia settler who came into North Carolina, but none of those reflections can apply to Granville County. As early as 1744, Virginians who wished to move into the Granville District applied to Lord Granville concerning lands contiguous to Virginia.[44] Since a trifling and aimless people would not manage business in that way, we can feel assured that the Virginia pioneers considered the matter of moving into North Carolina

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42 This conclusion is based on a summary of Granville County Deed Books. See List of Virginians settling in Granville County in Appendix.

43 Letter from Governor Martin to Secretary, C.R., IX, 349. The pronunciation of the diphthong ou, which is peculiar to Virginians, is heard today in Granville as frequently as in Virginia. Nor is Granville's proximity to Virginia the cause of this similarity in accent, for in other counties of North Carolina, along the border, the same stress is not heard.

44 Granville District Papers, "Granville's Instruction for Corbin's goind to North Carolina," (1744), (In the Office of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N.C.)

as a business proposition of sound value. The table below will add more proof. Based on sizes of land grants in Granville during the colonial period, this table very clearly indicates that larger tracts of land were granted to Virginians than to the citizens of Granville as a whole.[45]

Comparison in Acres of the Sizes of All
Land Grants Made in Colonial Granville
with those Made to Virginians

Year	Grants to All	Grants to Virginians
1746	371	380
1747	237	248
1748	545	657
1749	348	333
1750	371	418
1751	438	775
1752	413	893
1753	402	323

45 The average size of "Grants to All" includes those made both to incoming Virginians and to settled North Carolinians, while the Virginia grants were averaged separately. Had the North Carolina grants been averaged separately, there would have been a greater difference. Based on such a calculation, the average size of tracts granted to Virginians amounted to 442 acres, but when all parts were considered the average dropped to 344 acres.

Year	Grants to All	Grants to Virginians
1754	369	426
1755	426	363
1756	401	506
1757	407	474
1758	412	310
1759	356	334
1760	327	340
1761	418	371
1762	402	285
1763	438	251
1764	261	366
1765	275	332
1766	225	302
1767	229	175
1768	300	371
1769	264	234
1770	244	296
1771	298	996
1772	240	480
1773	247	400
1774	250	654
1775	214	780
1776	192	300
Average	344	442

Of the fifty-one tracts of land exceeding one thousand acres, granted in Granville County during the colonial period, twenty-five were made to native Virginians who had not previously lived in the colony of North Carolina. There were also many nine-hundred as well as six hundred and forty-acre tracts bought by Virginians. The average price paid per acre for Granville land by Virginians shows that, as a rule, they paid higher prices for land than were current at the time. As a result, they surely obtained more fertile tracts of land. The following table,[46] by showing the average price per acre paid by Virginians, and the average price paid by all people in Granville who bought land, can be accepted as proof that the Virginia settlers demanded the best of the land in the County.

Year	Virginia Prices		Prices of all Grants	
	Shillings	Pence	Shillings	Pence
1746	1	4	1	6
1747	1	5	1	7
1748	0	9	1	9
1748	1	10	1	8

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46 Since these averages were found in both Virginia money and proclamation money, they cannot be regarded as accurate, but they do show the relative value of the land in the same terms for both averages and should show with reasonable accuracy the general trend of land prices in the colonial period.

	4	1	0
		1	
		1	

Year	Virginia Prices		Prices of all Grants	
	Shillings	Pence	Shillings	Pence
1749	1	10	1	8
1750	2	10	1	9
1751	2	4	1	9
1752	2	2	2	0
1753	3	4	3	0
1754	1	0	2	10
1755	3	6	3	4
1756	4	6	2	11
1757	3	3	2	9
1758	3	0	2	4
1759	4	7	4	0
1760	4	11	3	3
1761	6	10	3	3
1762	4	0	2	8
1763	5	6	2	11
1764	5	5	3	11
1765	3	4	4	0
1766	2	8	4	6
1767	7	3	4	10
1768	9	7	6	0
1769	7	8	4	1
1770	7	0	6	0
1771	8	9	11	0
1772	12	3	6	9
1773	13	4	8	7

Year	Virginia Prices		Prices of all Grants	
	Shillings	Pence	Shillings	Pence
1774	18	0	9	0
1775	23	8	11	4
1776	33	0	9	0
Average	6	12	4	2

The type of Virginia settler, then, who came into Granville, investigated the liklihood of obtaining land before he left home, bought larger tracts than the average, and in order to get fertile lands, paid more for them than was customary.

In addition to the families that came to Granville after its formation, there were many who settled there before 1746. No doubt a great number came before that date because it was due to their arrival in great numbers that a necessity arose for dividing Edgecombe. It has been stated that Granville was filled by an overflow from Virginia in 1755,[47] but it seems more credible, in the light of records, that the County received a greater deluge of Virginians slightly prior to 1746. The Williams,[48] Person,[49] and Henderson[50] families all came

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47 S. A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, (1905) III, 427.

48 Ibid., III, 427.

49 S. A. Ashe, op. cit., III, 381

50 Ibid., III, 300.

Variable Prices		Prices of all Commodities	
Shillings	Pence	Shillings	Pence
18	0	8	0
85	8	12	4
34	0	6	
	4		4

before that date. It is true, no doubt, that stories told by members of the William Byrd expedition and by the Virginia traders fired the instinctive love of land and adventure in the colonial Virginian.

Apparently after the County had been formed and prosperity established to some degree, a number of Scottish families found their way into Granville. The Alstons and Millers were of Scotch origin;[51] other Scotch were the Venables, Youngs, Hamiltons, and Steeds.[52]

In 1754 there were seven hundred seventy nine white taxables in the County;[53] by 1765 the number had increased to nine hundred seventy four;[54] while in 1767 the number was one thousand and twenty two.[55] A white taxable was any white man above eighteen years of age who was capable of bearing arms, but he did not have to own any property; hence these figures reveal the steady growth of the County, if we assume that all increased in the same proportion that the taxables did. At the close of the colonial period in 1775, thirty-five North Carolina counties were called on to raise Minute Men. Only

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51 See discussion of Merchants in Chapter V.

52 S. A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, I, 218.

53 General List of Taxables, C.R., V. 320.

54 Ibid., C.R., VII, 145.

55 Ibid., C.R., VII, 539.

Examination of documents in Chapter I.

four of the more populous ones, including Granville, were required to raise as many as three companies.[56] As an indication of Granville's position among the other counties, it is interesting to note that it was accounted as one of the four most populous counties of the colony. The remaining counties had to raise only one or two companies. Growing from a thinly populated frontier county to one of the most populous in the Colony, within a period of thirty years, was a phenomenon which can be understood only when one takes into account the countless numbers of Virginians who flocked into Granville in the colonial period. During that same time Bute was cut off from Granville, and that fact made the tremendous growth in population yet more phenomenal. In spite of its growth the County remained without towns. Judging from the sizes of the tracts of land sold, there were no towns in Granville prior to 1759 unless they were built on one man's estate, as in the case of the development of Oxford somewhat later.[57] Harrisburg was referred to earlier[58] than any other town, and in commenting on it in 1778, James Iredell said that it was "a burlesque upon a town" consisting of half a dozen straggling houses.

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56 Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, held at Hillsborough 20th August, A.D., 1775, C.R., X, 207.

57 K, 204.

58 H, 94.

[illegible] the Proceedings of the Provincial Congress of [illegible], held at Hillsborough, [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible].

If that were the case in 1778,[59] it could not have been a very imposing town in 1766, when it was first mentioned. Perhaps the next settlement that could be called a town was Williamsboro which sprang from an ordinary and a store on the cross roads that led to Taylor's Ferry and Halifax.[60] The settlements surrounding Nutbush and Grassy creeks were populous, but Williamsboro was the nearest approach to a town.

As a generalization, it is safe to say that the Indians of early Granville, especially the Tuscaroras, were so numerous that settlement by the whites was discouraged until somewhat later than 1711. There were several tribes in Granville, but the Saponi seem to have left a more lasting impression. Settlement of the County probably began about 1720 when an occasional settler pushed up from eastern Carolina. This phase of Granville's settlement was negligible in comparison with the tremendous influx of Virginians, both before 1746 and during the entire colonial period. The number of Scotch who came in after 1746 was also meager when compared with the numerous Virginia settlers. Despite these newcomers, Granville did not have a town with more than a dozen houses in it during the entire colonial Period. Granville was, therefore, an extension of the Virginia farming area.

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59 John Griffith McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, (1857), I, 378.

60 F, 412; H, 207; Collet, Map of North Carolina; J. E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin, and Granville.

CHAPTER III

Public Disturbances

County government in colonial days was vested in the commission of peace[x], the sheriff, the clerk of court, and indirectly in the members of the assembly. Church wardens and vestrymen also wielded a strong influence in regard to the levying of taxes. Of these forces of government, the commission of peace, consisting of several members, usually dominated the local government and prevented any democratic elements from functioning. This group controlled not only the local situation, including all duties and powers of the court, the sheriff, and the clerk of court, but to some extent the Assembly as well. Likewise they controlled the militia and obtained all the higher offices that were in any degree lucrative.[1]

Since the members of the commission of the peace exerted

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[1] Julian P. Boyd, The County Court in Colonial North Carolina, (Thesis; 1926), 181.

x The commission of Peace consisted of Justices of the Peace who constituted the County Court.

so much influence in colonial North Carolina, their method of appointment, duties, and political importance will be discussed here. These justices of the peace composed the county court, but there was no definite number of them in the County, nor was there any requirement that they should be well versed in the law.[2] There were different numbers of justices appointed at different times in Granville County. In 1746, at the formation of the County, six justices were appointed;[3] in 1755 only one was named;[4] but in 1760 five were placed in the commission of peace.[5] Court could be held when only three justices were present.[6] However, there were twenty-two justices in the County in the year of 1756.[7] Nominally these justices were appointed by the governor of the province with the consent of his council, but the appointments were usually made at the recommendation of the members of the County court itself.[8] Therefore the court of Granville County in colonial days was practically a self-perpetuating body, and naturally came to be under the domination of one class.

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2 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 1.

3 Council Journals, C.R., IV, 813.

4 Ibid., V, 493.

5 Ibid., VI, 343.

6 J. P. Boyd, op. cit., 17.

7 Letter from Robt. Jones to Gov. Dobbs, C.R., V, 590-592.

8 J. P. Boyd, op. cit., 17.

The county court was never sure of its actual jurisdiction, on account of the constantly changing laws. Many laws were temporary, while others were repealed by the Crown, with the result that the duties of the county court were never clearly defined, and many matters assuredly outside its jurisdiction were entertained by the court.[9] As a judicial body it had original and appellate jurisdiction in matters of trespass, larceny, assault, battery, and other misdemeanors of an inferior nature, and in addition, all concerns of orphans and their estates.[10]

Certain administrative powers[11] also fell under the jurisdiction of the courts. In this capacity the county court functioned as a strong governmental unit, unhampered by temporary laws and disallowance of laws. The most important of the administrative powers was the taxing power conferred on county courts by the Assembly. The money thus raised was to be used in defraying the expenses of running the county government. The poll tax system was used, and there was no limit set with reference to the amount that could be levied on the people of the County.[12]

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9 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 61.

10 Ibid., 24.

11 Ibid., Chapter II, passim.

12 Ibid., 63-64.

The management of ferries and the building and upkeep of roads were given over to the courts. Other powers so delegated were the appointment of road overseers, the building of all public structures, and the regulation of ordinaries, mills, weights, measures, slaves, indentured servants, and county boundary lines. The court also granted orders for letters of administration and heard wills proved. Proving head rights, issuing marriage licenses, processioning land, and recording deeds and mortgages fell to the lot of the county court. In addition to the foregoing duties, all of the important local offices were under the appointive power of the court or were greatly influenced by the recommendations of its members.

Consequently the actual government of the people lay in the hands of a body of men who chose their own successors. These justices of the peace formed a court clique made up of the outstanding property owners who were bound together by common political, economic, and social ties.[13]

The colonial sheriff exercised more administrative power than any officer under the jurisdiction of the county court. Though he was appointed by the governor, he was recommended first by the county court.[14] With such administrative powers the sheriff had ample opportunity to retard democratic

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13 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 181.

14 Ibid., 137.

government. He stole public funds and controlled the political situation either by influence or by returning the name of a person of his own choice rather than the choice of the electorate.[15] This office constituted the chief plum which the justices of the peace had at their disposal. Rarely, if ever, was anyone appointed as sheriff who was not a justice of the peace. Eventually the justices influenced the Assembly to pass a law making it impossible for anyone to be appointed as a sheriff who was not a justice of the peace.[16] The desirability of the office in colonial Granville may be read from the following estimate of balances due in 1773 from five sheriffs of colonial Granville County:[17]

	£	s	d
Philip Pryor (1765)	454	14	9
James Yancey (1760)	240	4	1
Leonard Henly Bullock (1770) . . .	660	1	8
Robert Harris (1772).	755	7	6
Reuben Searcy (1764)	228	18	3

Here we have actual evidence that the sheriffs of Granville stole from the public funds. Since it is a matter of record

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15 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 111.

16 Ibid., 128.

17 Estimate of Balances Due, C.R., IX, 572.

that Thomas Person, John Pope, and William Bullock collected all taxes due during their terms as sheriff, it seems that the five who had shortages should have been able to collect also. If Reuben Searcy's balance due in 1764 was slightly more than two hundred pounds, certainly Robert Harris should have been able to show a smaller balance due than seven hundred fifty five pounds, and likewise with several others. Indeed, all indications point to the fact that the sheriffs of colonial Granville embezzled public funds to a great extent.

Because of the sheriff's great administrative powers, he was required to give bond to the governor, amounting to the sum of one thousand pounds sterling,[18] and definite efforts were made to collect the shortages, if we can judge from the case of Philip Pryor.[19] Pryor was sheriff in 1765 and 1766, and in 1771 an order from the clerk of superior court, which met at Halifax, commanded that all the goods, chattels, lands, and tenements belonging to Pryor, to the sum of four hundred fifty four pounds fourteen shillings, and nine pence, should be seized by the sheriff and sold. This order[20] was the result of a suit brought against Pryor by Governor Tryon and the sum involved was identical with the amount reported due from Pryor.

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18 Granville County Record Book, I, 3.

19 Ibid., I, 3.

20 IJ, 155-157.

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12 _____, _____, [illegible].

However, the two hundred twenty pounds realized from this sale of Pryor's land was not even half enough to cover his reported shortage.

Hence we see that the office of sheriff in colonial days was attractive financially, and though it was nominally an office at the governor's disposal, the justices of the peace really had the power of appointment.[21] No end of confusion was probably caused by the bonds, suits, and shortages connected with the sheriff's office.

As a matter of actual fact the office of clerk of the court was a further item in the political strength of the court clique.[22] The office was never under the actual appointive power of the county court, but the court recommended nominations and controlled the office to the extent that the Crown officers rarely appointed a person who did not meet the approval of the justices.[23] The attraction of the clerk's position lay in the number of fees attached to the office. Often the office was farmed out to the highest bidder and the clerks then charged exhorbitant fees in order to reimburse themselves.[24]

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21 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 127.

22 Ibid., 169.

23 Ibid., 158.

24 Ibid., 151.

By farming out this office one person could hold more than one office at the time by hiring clerical assistants to do the actual work.[25] Such a situation was evidently the case in Granville County when Samuel Benton served both as clerk of the court and register of deeds from 1764 to 1770.[26] Similar to the other county offices, the clerk of court's position intrenched the colonial squire more firmly as the pivot of county government.

Colonial North Carolina elected assemblies composed largely of justices of the peace, and Granville County was no exception to that general rule. For a period of thirty years during its existence as a colonial county, Granville sent nine different men to the Assembly, each one of whom was a justice of the peace.[27] Thus the court ring of Granville did more than its share in keeping a majority of the total number of members of the Assembly as justices of the peace. By such an arrangement the justices were constantly attempting to enlarge the jurisdiction of the court in order to put more power in their own hands.[28] Thus we see the justices exerting influence beyond the bounds of their own county.

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25 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 160.

26 IJ, 52; G, 240; IJ, 53.

27 J. P. Boyd, op. cit., 178.

28 Ibid., 177.

The political power of the justices also included control of the local militia. This control evidently was due to the prestige of the justices. The chief officers of the militia were usually leaders of the court party. Frequently the justices made recommendations to the governor concerning suitable men to be appointed as officers of the militia.[29]

The hand of the colonial squire, then, controlled the local government through the functions of the county court, and through their appointive power over the offices of sheriff and clerk of the court. The justices also reached out and controlled the colonial Assembly because they could manipulate local affairs as they saw fit. As a result, the Assembly was composed of justices of the peace.

One would expect the field of provincial and local politics to have been a satisfactory arena for the activities of the colonial justices, but not so. They also entered the religious life of the county as vestrymen.[30] Half of the first body of vestrymen for St. John's Parish were also members of the county court and as vestrymen, the justices of the peace controlled the levying of all taxes in the County.

A list of the public officials of colonial Granville will serve to make the foregoing discussion of political affairs more vivid. From these lists one sees that public affairs

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29 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 179.

30 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecomb County" in the Appendix.

, , , County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 139.

Dividing Research County" in the Appendix.

were in reality in the hands of a few men whose names appear among the lists of justices, sheriffs, clerks of court, members of the Assembly, and vestrymen. Due to a lack of court records the lists in some cases are not always complete, but they reveal the general trend of the political situation in colonial Granville.

Commissions of the Peace

1746 [31]
William Eaton
William Person
James Mitchell
James Paine
John Martin
Robert Parker

1749 [32]
Henry Webb
William Chambers
Thomas Lovelatty

1755 [33]
Robert Harris

1756 [34]
William Eaton
William Persons
James Paine
John Martin
Gideon Macon
William Chambers
Samuel Henderson

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31 Council Journals, C.R., IV, 813.

32 Ibid., IV, 966.

33 Ibid., V, 493.

34 Letter from Robt. Jones to Gov. Dobbs, C.R., V, 590-592.

Commissions of the Peace (Continued)

West Harris
Jonathan White
John Brantley
Samuel Benton
Philip Pryor
Richard Harris, Jr.
Philip Alston
John Sallis
William Hurst
Daniel Harris
James Yancey
Nathaniel Harris
Edward Moore
Lodowick Alford
Daniel Underwood

1760 [35]
Robert Harris
Samuel Henderson
Osborn Jeffries
Samuel Benton
Philip Pryor

1768 [36]
William Bullock
Robert Lewis
Thornton Yancey

1770 [37]
Robert Harris
Jonathan Kittrell
Thornton Yancey

1770 [38]
Solomon Alston, Jr.
Robert Dickens

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35 Council Journals, C.R., VI, 343.

36 Ibid., VII, 708.

37 Ibid., VIII, 196.

38 Ibid., VIII, 201.

Commissions of the Peace (Continued)

1772 [39] James Yancey

Sheriffs [40]

1760 James Yancey [41]

1762 Thomas Person [42]

1763 John Pope [43]

1764 Reuben Searcy [44]

1765 Philip Pryor [45]

1770 Leonard Henley Bullock [46]

1772 Robert Harris [47]

1773 William Bullock [48]

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39 IJ, 337.

40 This list is not complete and the years may not seem accurate because the new sheriffs were appointed in August, thereby serving a part of two calendar years. (IJ, 155; Granville County Record Book, I, 2.

41 IJ, 30

42 F, 352; House Journals, C.R., VI, 895.

43 K, 85.

44 G, 261.

45 Granville County Record Book, I, 2.

46 IJ, 29, 156.

47 IJ, 155.

48 Granville County Record Book, I, 2.

Registers of Deeds [49]

William Eaton (1746 - 1759)
William Hurst (1759 - 1761)
Samuel Benton (1761 - 1770)
Jesse Benton (1770 - 1775)
John Hunt (1775 -)

Clerks of the Court [50]

William Kendrick (1746 - 1748)
Daniel Weldon (1748 - 1764)
Samuel Benton (1764 - 1770)
Isaac Edwards (1770 - 1772)
Reuben Searcy (1772 - 1776)

Members of the Assembly [51]

1746 William Eaton
Edward Jones

1746 William Eaton
1747 Edward Jones and
1751 Robert Harris

1754 - 1760 Robert Harris
James Paine

1760 Robert Harris
Samuel Benton

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49 Granville County Deed Books, A - L, passim.

50 Ibid., A - L, passim.

51 R. D. W. Connor, (compiler) North Carolina Manual, (1913) 364-65; House Journals, C.R., IV, 1329; House Journals, C.R., V, 542, 521, 688-69; Council Journals, C.R., V, 232; House Journals, C.R., VI, 135, 470, 662, 1150; Council Journals, C.R., VI, 1134; House Journals, C.R., VII, 342; House Journals, C.R., VIII, 106; Estimate of Allowances, C.R., VIII, 146; House Journals, C.R., IX, 734, 1188.

Members of the Assembly (Continued)

1761	Robert Harris Samuel Benton
1762 (April)	Robert Harris Samuel Benton
1762 (November)	Robert Harris Samuel Benton
1764 - 1765	Robert Harris Samuel Benton
1766 - 1768	Robert Harris Samuel Benton
1769	Thomas Person Howell Lewis
1770 - 1771	Thomas Person Howell Lewis
1773 (January	Robert Lewis Thomas Person
1773 - 1774	Thomas Person Memucan Hunt
1775	Thomas Person Memucan Hunt

Higher Officers of County Militia [52]

1768 Colonel Robert Harris [53]

Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Benton [53]

1768 Captain Leonard Henley Bullock [54]

1763 Colonel William Person [55]

Lieutenant Colonel James Paine [55]

Major Osborn Jeffries [55]

1754 Colonel William Eaton [56]

Vestrymen

St. John's Parish [57]

William Eaton
William Persons
John Martin
Edward Jones
James Mitchell
James Paine
West Harris
John Wade

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52 This list is incomplete.

53 ~~C.R., VII, 843.~~ Proceedings and Resolutions of the Council of War held at Hillsborough Camp the 22d and 23d September 1768, C.R., VII, 842.

54 Muster Roll or Granville County, S.R., XXII, 394.

55 Letter from Lieut. Col. Paine to Gov. Dobbs, S.R., XXII, 368.

56 Muster Roll of Granville County, S.R., XXII, 370.

57 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecomb County" in the Appendix.

Vestrymen

St. John's Parish (Continued)

William Moore
Samuel Lanier
Robert Parker
Joseph Sims

Granville Parish [58]

Robert Harris
Richard Henderson
Reuben Searcy
Henry Howard
Richard Harris, Jr.
James Mitchell
Andrew Hampton
Thomas Lowe
Evan Ragland
William Burford
Darwin Elwick
Sherwood Harris

Upon such a political structure Granville County's government was built, and one would naturally expect discord in the administration of public affairs by this closed group who owned practically all the property of the County.[59] Such was the case. Much money and time were wasted in the matter of locating the county court house. The justices were involved in a serious dispute with the Governor because he did not appoint Robert Harris as a member of the commission of peace

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58 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 497-547.

59 Granville County Deed Books, A - L, passim; Granville County Record Book, I, passim.

as they desired. Likewise, discord and poor management were found in the ranks of the local militia. Forming Bute County from Granville also had its basis in the manipulations of the court clique and as a climax of poor government, the economic life of the County was so affected that the Regulator uprising had its inception in Granville County. Such strife must very largely be blamed on the local government.

Turbulence began raging in Granville's public life almost with the birth of the County in 1746; a dispute concerning the location of the court house occupied the citizens continuously until 1765. In the beginning the act which created the County decreed that court should be held at Colonel William Eaton's dwelling,[60] which was located where the present Vance County Home now stands. Geographically, this was almost in the exact center of the County at that time.[61] The same act also ordered the justices or a majority of them, in their first meeting there, to select a proper place in the County for building a court house, prison, and stocks; they were also to draw up specifications for erecting the buildings. Together with the expenses of running a dividing line between Edgecombe and Granville, the buildings were not to cost more than could

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60 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecombe County" in the Appendix.

61 J. E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin, and Granville.

be realized from a poll tax of two shillings, proclamation money, to be levied for a period of only two years.

Two years later we find that the justices had not been able to finish the buildings due to a lack of funds. Immediately a bill for levying more tax was passed on April 6, 1748.[62] At that time it was also necessary to complete the buildings which the justices had started.[63] The sheriff was ordered to collect the extra tax and keep six percent of it for his services as collector. William Eaton, who apparently had furnished a meeting place for the court during 1746 and 1747, was appointed with Edward Jones to finish the building and defray the expense of running the County line.[64]

In less than four months William Eaton and his colleagues had gone quite a distance in unravelling the poorly handled business of providing public buildings, which duty the County justices, as a whole, had so hopelessly confused. They had chosen a location for the building, by order of court, but it was very inconvenient,[65] being six or seven miles from the

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62 House Journals, C.R., IV, 906; Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 285.

63 House Journals, C.R., IV, 903.

64 An Act for Laying a Further Tax on the Inhabitants of Granville County, S.R., XXIII, 285.

65 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 297-98. (1748 was earlier than Orange's formation, and prior to that time, Granville was a frontier county which had no definite western boundary. Apparently the location was inconvenient, but not for the reason assigned in the Act.)

northwest corner of the County. The reason assigned for the failure of the justices to choose a convenient site for the public buildings was that they were unfamiliar with the bounds of the County; their lack of familiarity with their surroundings was quite expensive and inconvenient to the citizens. Eaton and Jones were empowered to choose a site at or near Tabbs Creek, a branch of Tar River, and to contract with workmen to build the houses of such dimensions as seemed suitable to them. The uncollected taxes already levied were to be collected and paid to Eaton and Jones for the buildings. In the meantime the court house, prison, and stocks, which had been started in a corner of the County, would be of no service if finished, and accordingly, the commissioners were empowered to sell them and apply the proceeds to the buildings on Tabbs Creek.[66] Thus, Granville County justices began their duties with inefficiency and waste.

In less than two years, by April 16, 1750, court was being held in the completed building on Tabbs Creek,[67] Evidently this location was on William Eaton's land.[68] It required only four years for the Granville citizens to decide that a location in the center of their County was inconvenient

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66 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 297-98.

67 A, 303.

68 H, 237.

for a court house. They petitioned the Assembly in 1754, praying that a bill be enacted for removing their court.[69] The bill was introduced and passed once in the House,[70] and once in the Council with some amendments.[71] Later, however, the bill received a negative vote, possibly due to the amendments attached by the Council.[72] Despite this negative vote,we read of the court house prong of Sandy Creek as it existed on April 1, 1760[73] and of "the court house road on the south side of Sandy Creek" August 10, 1761.[74] But in 1764 the influence of Samuel Benton had brought the court house to Oxford,[75] which was the name of Benton's estate.[76] In George Sims' language, Benton moved the court house in "order to bring grist to his own mill,"[77] for Benton during this period was serving as clerk

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69 A Petition of Several of the Inhabitants of Granville, C.R., V, 248.

70 House Journals, C.R., V, 229.

71 Council Journals, C.R., V. 230.

72 House Journals, C.R., V, 260.

73 H, 337.

74 F, 53.

75 Granville County Court Records, (1754-1770), 108. (In the office of Granville County Clerk of Court, Oxford, N. C.) W. K. Boyd, (editor), Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, (1927), 188, 192.

76 K, 204.

77 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 188.

of the Granville County Court.[78] In fact, Benton was one of the commissioners appointed to build the new county court house, prison, pillory, and stocks.[79] After June 10, 1765, all of Granville's court affairs were to be carried to the new court house[80] which had been built on Benton's estate for his convenience. In direct contrast to the great length of time necessary to build the first court house, the new building was ready practically a year earlier than the Act directed.[81] Evidently Benton worked with great dispatch in order to bring the county offices to Oxford, then the name of his estate. There is little doubt but that the ruling clique in the eastern part of the County was just as anxious for Bute County to begin its political career, because they also were ready for county business to be moved to Bute earlier than the Act directed.

There is much uncertainty over the locations of Granville's different court houses, but the foregoing discussion merely offers proof that court was held, or preparations were made for it to be held, in five different locations during the space of nineteen years, from 1746 to 1765. The expense and inconvenience were no doubt great hardships on the Granville

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78 IJ, 29.

79 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 626.

80 Ibid., XXIII, 625.

81 Granville County Court Records, (1754-1770), 108.

inhabitants. Some of the changes may have been due to caprice, but one was certainly due to the incompetence of officers, and another to the unprincipled scheming of a public officer who undoubtedly used his public office to further his private finances. To farmers living in isolated sections of the County, there was doubtless somewhat of an uncertainty as to where to go when business called them to court. Such inconsistency in handling the County's business gives the colonial justice of the peace another blow.

In Granville's public life, the commission of the peace with Robert Harris as the chief firebrand, furnished another disturbing element which has been discussed before.[82] The affair will be somewhat clearer, however, if another year of the dispute is brought into consideration. At a meeting of Governor Dobbs' Council at Newbern in 1755, it was told to him that one of the justices of Granville County had spoken contemptuously of him. On being called before the Governor, Harris boldly confessed that it was true. Thereupon, the Governor ordered that his name be stricken from the list of justices of the peace for Granville County.[83] When the next commission was produced at the June court of 1756, the name of Robert Harris was, of course, lacking, and the entire

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82 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 11.

83 Council Journals, C.R., V, 493.

commission refused to qualify. They considered that Harris' dismissal was an insult to them. No men of spirit, they said, would qualify until the Governor changed the list of justices to suit the court. They formed a compact not to hold court until the commission was purged to their satisfaction. Nor did they hold court for the month of June in 1756.[84] By the latter part of August of 1760 the court affairs of Granville had again assumed definite regularity.[85] The failure of his Majesty's Justices to hold court in June of 1756 as reported by Robert Jones is verified by the court records. During 1757 and 1758 court was held, but only a few cases were considered.[86] There was no court held in December, 1759,[87] shortly after the issuance of Searcy's Petition, nor was court held in March and June of 1760.[88] However, ~~when~~ Robert Harris was added to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances in May, 1760,[89] and ~~after~~ he and his colleagues were restored to the roster of justices of the peace in December, 1760, After that year there were few failures

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84 Letter from Robert Jones to Governor Arthur Dobbs about the Granville Peace Commission, C.R., V, 590-92; Granville County Court Records, (1754-1770), 29-34.

85 Granville County Court Records, (1754-1770), 57.

86 Ibid., 51-53.

87 Ibid., 56-57.

88 Ibid., 56-57.

89 House Journals, C.R., VI, 405.

to hold court according to a definite schedule.[90] Harris' hold on local politics was very strong because we find him still among the Justices in 1776,[91] where he quite likely held the same undisputed power that he had held when he forced Governor Dobbs' hand.

Evidently at the time the Governor followed Robert Jones' advice and appointed the six men that he recommended in a letter describing the entire matter[92] because it was not until 1760, four years, later, that he put Harris back on the commission. At the same time he also appointed Samuel Henderson, Osborn Jeffries, Samuel Benton, and Philip Pryor,[93] all of whom had been reported unfavorably by Robert Jones in 1756.[94]

To review the facts, Robert Harris' name was not included in the list of justices in 1756. The omission of his name angered the entire commission so that a majority of them refused to act. This threw the County without a court, and Robert Jones, the Attorney General of North Carolina, in

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90 Granville County Court Records, (1754-1770), passim.

91 An Ordinance of the Convention of 1776, C.R., XXIII, 993.

92 Letter from Robt. Jones to Gov. Dobbs about Granville Peace Commission, C.R., V, 590-92.

93 Council Journals, C.R., VI, 343.

94 Letter from Jones to Dobbs, C.R., V, 590-92.

line with his duty, reported those of the commission who refused to hold court and recommended others to take their places.[95] The Governor followed his advice in making the next appointments of justices. Then there was a set of angry politicians in Granville, between 1756 and 1760, because they were not controlling the courts as they had been accustomed to do.

During this period when the politicians were angry, appeared "The Petition of Reuben Searcy and Others," March 23, 1759, as follows:[96]

> To the Worshipful Court[97] of Granville County Greeting. The Petition of Sundry of the Inhabitants of the County aforesaid. We his Majesties true and faithful subjects humbly beg leave to show your worships that notwithstanding the many Liberties Rights and Privileges granted us by his Majesty King George the Second, etc. whose subjects we are and whose person Crown and dignity we are ready and willing now and at all other times to defend and do with the greatest sincerity profess true obedience and loyalty, but Liberty that dearest of names and Property that best of charters, seems to be too much detracted, as we verily believe by the illusive insinuations of Mr. Robert Jones Jr. Therefore your Ptrs. humbly pray your worships to take the same in your wise and deliberate considerations and as far as in your

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95 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 179; Letter from Robt. Jones to Gov. Dobbs, C.R., V, 590-92.

96 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 180-81; C.R., V, 590-92.

97 The court which Searcy petitioned was composed of the Justices appointed by Governor Dobbs after he refused Harris and several others a position on the commission.

powers lie, redress and relieve your Ptrs. with many others from his unjust impositions and exhorbitancy. Therefore to proceed in the first place that eloquent Gentlemen through his wiles and false insinuations to which art and chicancerie he owes his great success and high preferment in this Province that we your Petitioners verily believe has not only impos'd on the inferior class of mankind but has likewise impos'd on his Excellency Arthur Dobbs Esqre. Governor etc., of this Province together with his Majesties' Honourable Council that notwithstanding their wise and mature consideration together with their just honest and righteous intentions for the benefit and welfare of the inhabitants of this our Province in general, yet that gentleman thro' false and unjust Representations in matters relating to our County of Granville hath prevailed on his Excellency and Honours aforesd to issue a Commission of Peace for our said County thereby leaving out of said Commission several worthy gentlemen that were very serviceable and beneficial to our said County and more especially to the upper inhabitants thereof for the lack of which magistrates or a sufficient number of such your petitioners labour under great disadvantages and inconveniences and also Justice likely to be much retarded which certainly is very disagreeable to your worships as well as petitioners. And furthermore the Legislature of the Province have in their wise and deliberate consideration allowed and stated a set fee very sufficient for an Attorney practiseingin our said Province to have and receive for his care and trouble in prosecuting Suits in any of our Courts of Judicture but Mr. Jones instead of the fee allowed by law frequently demands and receives double that fee without any matter or remorse of conscience, so that it has become a general practice and custom among chief of our Attornies, and by the great volubility of speech and the superiority that he by his wiles insinuations and chicancerie as aforesd has insinuated himself into, very frequently works on the passions of weak juries to blind their conception of Justice in order to gain his point so that men flock daily to him to comence very trivial and frivolous lawsuits

> which tends to the great disadvantage and prejudice of our inhabitants for all which insults and injuries your petitioners humbly beg your worships to exclude and prohibit the sd Mr. Jones from pleading at our barr for the future and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

As one would expect, the anger of the court ring turned toward Robert Jones who was directly responsible for their failure to control the court as usual. The "illusive insinuations of Mr. Robert Jones, Jr." mentioned in the petition are nothing more than his report to Governor Dobbs on the inadequacy of the justices appointed in 1756. In fact, the main contention in the Petition is that Jones had "prevailed on his Excellency ... to issue a Commission of Peace for our said County thereby leaving out of said Commission several worthy gentlemen that are very serviceable and beneficial to our said County." The petition condemned Jones for charging such high fees in his practice and, then, as a climax, asked that the court prohibit the Attorney General of North Carolina from practicing in Granville County. To complete the thesis it only remains to show that Searcy was one of the court ring. Reuben Searcy in 1764 was sheriff of Granville County.[98] In 1773 he lacked more than two hundred twenty eight pounds of balancing his books.[99] Therefore, he

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98 G, 261.

99 Estimate of Balances Due, C.R., IX, 572.

was one of the delinquent sheriffs of Granville who spent the public's tax money as freely as his own.[100] Searcy's connection with the court ring will be discussed from a different viewpoint later in this chapter.[101]

In the end Dobbs was forced to give over to the demands of the Granville justices, but he tried to save his face by ordering an investigation of the several complaints which had been made against some of the justices of Granville County.[102] The entire disagreement started with one man, Robert Harris, and because one local politician was displeased, the Governor and the Attorney General of North Carolina both had to bow to the demands of the justices. From Jones' report[103] we find that the Governor was notoriously ignorant as to the type of men which he put on the peace commission. Of the twenty-three members serving in 1756, there were only nine who were active. Many of them refused to act on account of the omission of Harris' name, of course.But one had previously been dismissed by order of the Council; two had moved away; and one was a common drunkard. This lack of information on the Governor's part was, no doubt, due to the fact that he depended on the justices

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100 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 142.

101 See discussion of disputed elections elsewhere in this chapter.

102 Council Journals, C.R., VI, 343.

103 Letter from Robt. Jones to Gov. Dobbs, C.R., V, 590-92.

themselves to make recommendations to him concerning the fitness of justices.[104] Very few cases so clearly demonstrate the independence of county politicians, and at the same time, the weakness of the officers of the Crown, as does the controversy involving these Granville justices of the peace.

A consideration of the condition of the Granville County colonial militia unveils more incompetence on the part of the justices who also indirectly controlled the militia.[105] There was also some disturbance over the regulation of drills and musters. Our first knowledge of the Granville militia finds William Eaton acting as colonel of a regiment consisting of eight companies with seven hundred thirty four men besides the officers. Two of the captains had moved away, and others had resigned. Evidently military service on the part of the officers was not considered important, because Eaton wanted fines to be placed on delinquents by a court martial. In addition to disinterested officers the men had no arms nor ammunition.[106] There were three companies of the Granville Troop of Horse and eight companies of foot soldiers.[107] In the same report which contains recommendations for officers,

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104 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 17.

105 Ibid., 178-79.

106 Militia Returns, S.R., XXII, 306-07.

107 Ibid., S.R., XXII, 306-07.

Eaton makes recommendations for the peace commission.[108] One year later, in 1755, not half of the militia was armed.[109] In 1756 William Person was commander of the Granville regiment, and he reported the same trouble of not having officers and that his supply of ammunition was very scarce.[110] Seven years later William Person refused to act as colonel and had failed to qualify to his colonel's commission for three years. The same failure of other officers to do their duty was also complained of. In spite of the poor morale of the officers and lack of equipment, there were one thousand six hundred eighty six men in the different companies in 1763.[111] The militia, then, was quite a strong organization from the standpoint of numbers.

The general musters seem not to have been regarded very seriously, and the members of the militia were poorly drilled and did not want to attend musters regularly as a common practice. Danger from impending Indian invasions did not make them any more zealous for drill. When required by the company officers to drill with clubs, due to a lack of arms, the men were encouraged not to drill by the regimental officers.

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108 Militia Returns, S.R., XXII, 314.

109 List of Militia and Taxable Persons, C.R., V, ~~575~~, 303.

110 Letter from Colonel William Person to Governor, S.R., XXII, 366-67

111 Letter of Lieut. Col. James Paine to Governor, S.R., XXII, 368-79.

According to a company officer in 1755 the commanding officer discouraged serious drill in order to get the votes of the men at election time. This perhaps over-zealous captain, John Sallis, also stated that his men so objected to drill that they petitioned the Governor for a different captain. Their choice in his stead was Jonathan White, a member of the commission of peace.[112] Sallis had belonged to the commission of peace earlier, but had been turned out by order of the Council.[113] The entire disturbance was very likely due to anxiety on the part of the justices to have one of their own number in Sallis' place. In fact Sallis writes "...had I not been left out of the Commission of Peace, they'd aimed at no Petition now..." The dislike which the justices had toward Sallis first developed after he was dropped from the peace commission. Robert Harris, however, espoused Sallis' cause, and Sallis gave Robert Jones' name as a character reference;[114] which two facts, perhaps, cause more credence to be put in Sallis' statements. Jones seemed to analyze the peace commission troubles justly and he was opposed to Harris.[115] Thus we have two men who were political enemies upholding John Sallis.

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112 Letter of John Sallis to the Governor, C.R., V, 424-426.

113 Letter of Robt. Jones to Gov. Dobbs, C.R., V, 590-92.

114 Letter of John Sallis to the Governor, C.R., V, 424-26.

115 Letter of Robert Jones to Governor Dobbs, C.R., V, 590-92.

In the final outcome the justices won because Sallis sold all his possessions, including land and drum and colors.[116] The conclusion that the county militia was sacrificed to politics and was subject to poor management is supported by abundant proof. In fact, poor management was so glaring that the men of Sallis' company who failed to report for muster duty were not punished while those who did report were punished.[117]

The necessity of forming original Granville into two counties to meet with the schemes of the county political clique was kept before the people for six years before it was accomplished. The agitation began in 1758,[118] and did not end until 1764, when Bute County was formed from Granville County and St. John's Parish.[119] In the Assembly James Payne and Robert Harris, who launched the movement for forming a new County from Granville,[120] also were justices of the peace for the County, as was Samuel Benton, too.[121] Samuel Benton did not appear in the Assembly until 1760,[122] though more than

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116 C, 7.

117 Letter of John Sallis to Governor Dobbs, C.R., V, 566-67.

118 Council Journals, C.R., V, 1026.

119 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 497-98.

120 Council Journals, C.R., V, 1026.

121 Ibid., VI, 343.

122 House Journals, C.R., VI, 470.

likely he set the stage very carefully in Granville in order to send a petition by Robert Harris asking that the County be divided. Harris prepared the bill which was read and passed.[123] In the process of passing it, references to the bill appeared in the minutes of the Assembly fifteen times.[124] On the presentation of a second petition from "sundry of the Inhabitants of Granville County" asking that the County be divided,[125] Benton entered the contest in person on April 24, 1762.[126] On December 6, 1762, an attempt was made to delay the bill on the technical charge that the words "Prince George" were not properly written into the bill as it came from the House to the Council.[127] But the bill was passed and sent to the Governor who did not give his assent to the Act.[128] However, the Granville politicians must have had some means of forcing Governor Dobbs' hand for he boastfully wrote the Board of Trade that he had made a new county from Granville,[129] even though he had previously withheld his signature from the Act.

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123 House Journals, C.R., VI, 152.

124 Based on accounts found in C.R., VI, passim.

125 House Journals, C.R., VI, 815.

126 Ibid., C.R., VI, 824.

127 Council Journals, C.R., VI, 869.

128 House Journals, C.R., VI, 891-92.

129 Letter from Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, C.R., VI, 1036.

Harris' insistence on the formation of another county was more than likely influenced by the fact that he might profit in erecting the new county buildings, for he, Samuel Benton, and Philip Taylor were appointed as commissioners to erect all the county buildings.[130] Before the bill was passed both Harris and Benton very likely felt that they could control the appointment of the commissioners. There were other plausible reasons for Samuel Benton's interest in changing Granville's boundaries. Aside from his interest in the contracts for the county buildings, he owned a large tract of land on Fishing Creek[131] which he wanted developed. He had already sold tracts to two different merchandising firms and had what was evidently the chief parish church on his land.[132] It is more than likely that he owned interests in the stores, and if he could bring the court house to his town, Oxford, the nearby village of Harrisburg would no longer be a competitor.[133] That must have been his real motive, though it is possible that in his dual capacity as register of deeds and clerk of court, both of which he held just prior to the formation of Bute,[134] he required fewer court politicians

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130 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 626.

131 K, 204.

132 IJ, 25.

133 See discussion of merchants in Chapter VII.

134 G, 153.

to check on his operations. He could have been influenced to some degree by the fact that he wanted his work to be in a more convenient location. In the face of George Sims' statement that Benton wanted to bring grist to his own mill,[135] and that he held two important county offices simultaneously, the plausible conclusion is that he wanted the court house moved and Bute County formed in order that he might become the complete master of the political situation.

The Regulator trouble was another disturbance in the County, but it was not confined to Granville, and will only be discussed briefly in the light of events that happened in Granville as they affected Granville citizens. The very first record of the Regulation outbreak was found in what is called the "Nutbush Paper"[136] or "An Address to the People of Granville County," by George Sims. This paper was directed against Samuel Benton, the political czar of colonial Granville. There are no records to prove the truth of Sims' statement concerning the high fees charged by Benton while clerk of the court, but many of his accusations are borne out by other facts. As was shown above, Benton was a member of the Assembly; he did use his office to further his private finances;[137] his

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135 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 188.

136 Prefatory Note, C.R., VII, p. xx.

137 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 187-88.

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influence brought the court house to his own estate; and the Granville deed books, beginning about 1760, are full of executed judgments where the sale price was much less than the debt. Hence we see that the chief accusations made by Sims are borne out by other contemporary records, and there is no reason for doubting the sincerity of the paper. Therefore, it would seem that events leading to the Regulation outbreak, perhaps, developed earlier here than in other counties. Sims pictures a poor man with a farm going in debt to his merchant for four or five pounds until his crop can be put on the market. The judgment bond which he has given the merchant is thrown into court before the crop is sold. The clerk of court, Benton, then made such an exhorbitant charge for entering the judgment on the docket that it took twenty-seven days' work on Benton's farm to raise the money for the fee. Such unjust charges in Granville evidently produced hard feelings and poverty besides throwing property into the hands of a few.[138]

During this period there was much boasting in Granville about what would be done to unpopular officers until the Assembly recommended that the Governor suppress the mob spirit. When some of the mob leaders were arrested

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138 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 189-90.

they were released from jail by friends.[139] In the midst of this exciting period, the Granville County jail was burned, but evidently the guilty person was never apprehended.[140] Prior to the jail burning, Governor Tryon sent an order to the commanding officer of the Granville militia empowering him to call out the militia to be ready for repelling insurrections.[141] Sixteen days later the regiment marched into Hillsboro.[142] This battalion was top heavy with officers: one colonel, one lieutenant colonel, one major, four captains, four lieutenants, four ensigns, one adjutant, one clerk, nine sergeants, six corporals, and four drummers. There were ninety men in Colonel Robert Harris' battalion.[143] The pay of the battalion for twelve days amounted to two hundred nine pounds and ten shillings.[144] For furnishing food for the battalion from Hillsboro and back the charges were over seven pounds, which Robert Harris advanced.[145] This expedition was made to Hillsboro in order to protect

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139 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 178.

140 From Court Records of Orange County, C.R., VII, 845-46.

141 Letter from Tryon to Colonel Fanning, C.R., VII, 718.

142 Tryon's Journal, C.R., VII, 827.

143 Expenditures Made by Gov. Tryon, S.R., XXII, 485-92.

144 Letter from Tryon to the Earl of Hillsboro, C.R., VII, 887.

145 Reports of the Committee of Public Claims, S.R., XXII, 859.

the court which was convening there. There was no bloodshed and nothing gained by the use of the militia,[146] but the people of Granville had to pay the expenses of the expedition.[147]

In the meantime, the development of the Regulator movement centered around Hillsboro,[148] and when court was disturbed by the Regulators, Associate Justice Richard Henderson was presiding.[149] Henderson adjourned court, presumably until the following day, but he left Hillsboro during the night.[150] Henderson had not intended to reconvene court the following day,[151] which intention Tryon approved.[152] The Regulators seemed to have had an especial hatred for Henderson,[153] and on November 12, 1770, we hear of what was apparently Regulator activities in Granville when Henderson's barns, stables, and corn were burned; and again on November 13, when his dwelling was burned. The Governor immediately

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146 John Spencer Bassett, The Regulators of North Carolina, (1896), 178.

147 Petition of the Inhabitants of Granville County, C.R., IX, 146.

148 J. S. Bassett, op. cit., 190.

149 Council Journals, C.R., VII, 691.

150 From Orange County Court Records, C.R., VIII, 235.

151 Letter from Henderson to Governor Tryon, C.R., VIII, 241-24[illegible].

152 Letter from Governor Tryon to Henderson, C.R., VIII, 678.

153 Deposition of Waighstill Avery, C.R., VIII, 519.

Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy.

of the Lumberlumen of Centerville County, U.S.,

Howell, op. cit., 156.

II Tennessee, S.R., VII, 164.

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ation of Territorial Arms, S.R., VII, 65.

issued a bombastic proclamation offering a hundred pounds reward and pardon to any offender who would confess and give the names of his accomplices.[154] Richard and Thomas Henderson, the two brothers from Granville, then alarmed the government exceedingly by telling the Council that they believed that a large body of Regulators would come to Newbern and assault the next session of the Assembly. Tryon accordingly advised all colonels of militia to hold their men in readiness.[155] Following this there must have been some kind of verbal expression of discontent in Granville, for Husbands, a leading Regulator, presented in Assembly a complaint of grievances from the County.[156] Evidently Richard Henderson was a volunteer in Tryon's army for opposing the Regulators.[157] On March 19, Tryon gave orders for one hundred men to be raised in Granville to march against the western insurgents, and he made a requisition on the Grassy Creek settlement for forty steers and twenty barrels of flour.[158] There is no evidence that either order was obeyed. No doubt

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154 Council Journals, C.R., VIII, 259.

155 Ibid., VIII, 260.

156 House Journals, C.R., VIII, 309.

157 Letter from Governor Tryon to Fanning, C.R., VIII, 687.

158 Additional Papers Relating to the War of the Regulation, C.R., VIII, 697, 715.

it was impossible to get any men to fight the Regulators, because most of the Granville inhabitants were either Regulators or in sympathy with them. With the exception of Thomas Person's connection with the movement, Tryon's unobserved orders seem to be the last record of the County's connection with the disturbance.

Records leave a confused account of Person's association with the Regulator uprising, which the best known authority has not been able to unravel.[159] Principles of a democratic government, which imbued political theorists prior to the Revolution and later the French people, more than likely had already been embraced by Thomas Person.[160] The fact that George Sims dedicated his stirring paper on unjust fees to him and that Person asked for a copy of the paper[161] would seem to indicate his interest in just government. It is possible that he believed that the Regulator movement furnished a means to give a more favorable government. Perhaps later he realized that the movement did not provide the opportunity that he had hoped for, and upon realizing that fact, did not identify himself with it any more.

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159 J. S. Bassett, Regulators of North Carolina, 206.

160 Letter from Thomas Person to William Person. (In the Person Papers at the North Carolina Historical Commission Office, Raleigh, N. C.)

161 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 182.

The note left by the Regulators on the Orange County Docket, "Persons dead"[162] indicates the fact that his interest in the Regulation was dead.

Be that as it may, Person was connected with the movement.[163] He was held in prison at Hillsborough and while there, tradition gives us two versions of his escape from conviction as a leading Regulator, but no one understands how he escaped so lightly; It seems probable that Tryon's soldiers failed to find any incriminating papers when his home and desk in Granville were searched. He was then sent to Wilmington without being allowed to give bail,[164] but was later allowed to take the oath which restored him to legal citizenship.[165]

Granville's connection with the Regulator movement, then, according to Sim's analysis of affairs in 1765, had its origin in county politics and was fundamentally a political question which grew into an economic problem. The

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162 Trial Causes to Hillsborough Superior Court, C.R., VIII, 240.

163 A Proclamation, C.R., VIII, 617; S. A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, VII, 384; J. S. Basset, Regulators of North Carolina, 206.

164 Prefatory Notes, C.R., VIII, p. xxvii. Letter from a Gentleman in North Carolina to a Correspondent in Boston, C.R., VIII, 635-36.

165 House Journals, C.R., IX, 141.

extraordinary political rule of Samuel Benton and Robert Harris probably gave Granville cause to cry out earlier than the other counties. Though Bute County has been pictured as a county where the rule of the political ring was most strongly intrenched,[166] its methods were inherited intact from its mother county, Granville. Except for the personalities of Benton, Richard Henderson, and Thomas Person, Granville's share in the events of the Regulation was no more spectacular than that of the other counties east of Orange, even though it was the first to voice discontent with county political affairs.

There were a series of disputes connected with the elections in Granville County. In 1754 William Hurst presented the first petition which complained of "an undue Election of Mr. Robert Harris, one of the Representatives for Granville County."[167] The House then resolved itself into a committee to consider the matter, whereupon Hurst came before the House and swore to the truth of his complaint.[168] After considering 'well' on the question, they came to the conclusion that the law did not allow them to enquire into an election except when the election was actually being held and that Harris was

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166 J. P. Boyd, County Court in Colonial North Carolina, 75, 103.

167 House Journals, C.R., V, 242.

168 Ibid., V, 244-45.

duly elected.[169] In spite of the fact that Hurst said that the election was subversive of the freedom of elections, the laws of the Province and the rights of the citizens, the legislature confessed its inability to remedy the situation.

Similar trouble arose again in 1760. The Granville Sheriff returned a writ of election with the explanation that he had been unable to hold a legal election and asked the clerk to issue another writ.[170] It was found by the committee that the sheriff discontinued the election because the court house was so crowded and the people so boisterous that he could not continue the election. Reuben Searcy, a sworn clerk for taking the poll, had shown great partiality. When the sheriff had adjourned the election and both clerks had gone, Searcy returned to the court house without the sheriff's knowledge and continued the election. He then summed up the votes and proclaimed Samuel Benton and Robert Harris as duly elected representatives. Here we have abundant proof that Searcy was in the heart of the Granville political ring. Searcy refused to give up the polls to the sheriff, saying that, as a sworn clerk, he had a right to them and that he had notified the sheriff when there was room in the court house. The sheriff had paid no attention to the information.

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169 House Journals, C.R., V, 345.

170 Ibid., VI, 367.

Another writ was issued and Searcy summoned before the House to answer for his actions.[171] When he appeared, he was reprimanded for his actions, but was excused from paying the costs.[172] The Assembly thus contradicted its decree in the Hurst petition that it was illegal to enquire into an election after it was held. However, at the second election Benton and Harris were concerned. It was either due to the sheriff's indifference or to Samuel Benton's manipulations. Benton made his first appearance in the Assembly as a result of this disputed election, and it seems possible that Searcy and Benton could have been in collusion. As further proof Searcy followed Benton as clerk of court,[173] thus becoming a full fledged member of the court house clique. Even though Benton were dead, Searcy would not have succeeded him had they been political enemies, because Jesse Benton succeeded his father as register of deeds.[174] Thus Searcy and Jesse Benton continued the Benton regime.

The next disputed election involved Thomas Person, who supposedly failed to return a writ of election while he was

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171 House Journals, C.R., VI, 366, 405.

172 Ibid., VI, 406.

173 IJ, 311.

174 Ibid., 52.

sheriff in 1762. He was also ordered to report to the Assembly. The clerk of the Crown stated that he had sent the writ,[175] but Person's affidavit stated that no writ for electing representatives, if it had been issued, had come to him or to anyone that he knew.[176] The House decided that it appeared that Person had never received the writ and that the Governor be asked to have another one sent.[177] Whether it be significant or not, Robert Harris and Samuel Benton again went to the Assembly after this dispute.[178] Apparently Person was innocent, and the statement of the Clerk of the Crown also rang true, but as usual there was a discrepancy somewhere.

Four years after Person's trouble with the lost election writ, five cases involving illegal voting came before the court of Granville. All the suits were brought by the same man, John Jones, Jr. All the cases appeared on the docket of August 5, 1766, and were against Grimes Halcomb, Christopher Hunt, Isham Parham, John Parham, and John Smith, all of whom were found guilty and fined the full penalty of the law, five pounds proclamation money.[179] It is not likely

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175 House Journals, C.R., VI, 895.

176 Ibid., VI, 897.

177 Ibid., VI, 898.

178 Ibid., VI, 1150.

179 Granville County Court Record, (1754-1770), 153.

, VI, 897.

, VI, 1188.

, VI, 1193.

that these cases had any connection with the previously discussed election frauds, but all the frauds indicate a very unwholesome condition.

Another event that must have stirred Granville was the inception of the Transylvania scheme right in the midst of the County. In fact the proprietors held one of their earliest meetings, September 25, 1775, in Oxford, and four of the proprietors, Richard Henderson, John Williams, William Johnson, and Leonard Henley Bullock, were natives of Granville.[180] For the unpopular Justice of the Crown,[181] an avowed favorite of Tryon's,[182] to become the "infamous Henderson"[183] to the next royal Governor must have been very exciting to the people. Though sworn to keep the king's law, it has been proved that Henderson was carrying on negotiations to break the law as early as 1763.[184] Henderson was now the object of proclamations from royal governors.[185] His purchase of 35,000,000

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180 Minutes of a Meeting of the Proprietors of Transylvania, C.R., X, 256.

181 House Journals, C.R., VIII, 467.

182 Letter from Tryon to the Earl of Hillsborough, C.R., VIII, 524-25.

183 Letter from Governor Martin to Earl of Dartmouth, C.R., X, 246.

184 W. K. Boyd, "North Carolina and the West," North Carolina Booklet, 7, (1909), No. 3, p. 202.

185 North Carolina Gazette, February 24, 1775.

acres of western lands from the Indians,[186] was in direct violation of a special proclamation issued by the King.[187] No doubt the Granville County people thought with the Scotchman who wrote to one of his race in Granville, "Pray is Dick Henderson out of his head?"[188]

In summarizing the turbulence of public life in colonial Granville, one might say that the pivot of the situation was the justice of peace. On him rested the responsibility for the waste and inconvenience of moving the court house so frequently. In order to carry its point, the Commission of the Peace did not hesitate to block public justice by refusing to hold court. Their management of the county militia was the supreme indication of their inefficiency; their military duties were regarded as jokes; and they did not hesitate to harass anyone who tried to conduct it in a more businesslike manner. When they wished, they manipulated the formation of new counties. The constant quarrels over elections always involved some member of the commission of the peace. Certainly they were responsible for the Regulator upheaval and nowhere more so than in Granville where the first complaint against unjust and illegal

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186 Letter from Governor Martin to the Earl of Dartmouth, C.R., X, 246.

187 North Carolina Gazette, February 24, 1775.

188 Letter from Archibald Neilson to Andrew Miller, C.R., IX, 1117.

fees was made. Perhaps the justices cannot be seriously implicated in the Transylvania scheme, though the instigators of the movement in Granville were closely connected with the ruling clique. No phase of the government, whether a consideration of the members of the Assembly, the sheriffs, the court clerk, or the officers of the militia, can be investigated without meeting a colonial squire.

CHAPTER IV

The Land System

The title for any tract of land in Granville County can be traced either to the Lords Proprietors, the Crown, the Earl of Granville, or to Henry McCulloh.[1] From the standpoint of Granville County alone, the first two are of little consequence. The Crown held the land from its discovery to 1663, when it was granted to the Lords Proprietors along with all the other land of North and South Carolina and Georgia.[2] Not being financially successful in handling the immense territory, the Proprietors, on July 25, 1729, relinquished to the Crown their tenure of the land.[3] As was pointed

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1 Conclusions based on facts found in Granville County Deed Books, A through L.

2 R. D. W. Connor, History of North Carolina, I, (1919), 34.

3 Ibid., I, 140.

CHAPTER IV

out above, settlement of Granville was barely beginning in 1729, and the few grants of land in the County, made by the Proprietors had little or no effect on the economic life of the people or on hastening the settlement of the County. The tremendous amount of land granted by the Earl of Granville in the County reveals the fact that little or none was granted by the Lords Proprietors.[4] An unsettled period in the matter of land grants followed the transfer of the land from the Proprietors to the Crown in 1729. At that time Lord John Carteret, afterwards Earl of Granville, refused to sell his eighth part of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, all of which had been included in the original grant to the Proprietors. It was eventually decided to create one district for the Earl of Granville's share. It was Granville County's misfortune to be included in the tract of land known as the Granville District. In surveying the Earl's one continuous tract, the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina was chosen as the northern limit; hence it was necessary for the Earl to have the expense of running only one line. This southern boundary of the Granville District was surveyed as far west as Bath in 1744. But in 1746, simultaneously with the formation of Granville County, the boundary was extended directly westward as far as Haw River, but was not run to the

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[4] See tables and land speculation later in this chapter.

Blue Ridge until 1774.[5] Granville County lay in the very center of the Granville District.

From 1729, when the Lords' Proprietors relinquished ownership of their vast territory, to 1746, when Granville County was definitely placed in the Granville District, the title of land in the County was presumably vested in the Crown. During that period the section received so many settlers that it was necessary to form a county which was called Granville in honor of the Earl of Granville.[6] But there are scarcely any records remaining to show how land was obtained in this period. Before the Earl of Granville's line was surveyed as far west as Granville County, George II, in 1745, granted twelve thousand five hundred acres to Henry McCulloh, one of his special agents in North Carolina.[7] After the Granville District line was finished, McCulloh's tract was found to lie in the Granville District. This huge tract of land lay in Granville County on the banks of the Eno, Neuse, and Tar rivers. In 1752, following the establishment of Orange, the greater part of the

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5 R. D. W. Connor, History of North Carolina, I, 222-23; E. Merton Coulter, "The Granville District," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XIII, (1912) No. 1, 36-38; Council Journals, C.R., IV, 810.

6 See Appendix, An Act to Divide Edgecomb County.

7 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 143. See McCulloh Deed in the Appendix.

M'Culloh tract still fell in Granville County.[8] Therefore during the colonial period, there were four sources from which to secure titles to land in Granville County.

We may pass quickly over the period included from 1584[9] to 1663, when the Crown generally held the title to the, then, unknown body of land which in time became Granville County. No settler at this time had had the opportunity to brave the hordes of Tuscaroras who reigned supreme on the headwaters of the Neuse and Tar. It was at least fifty-seven years later than 1663 when the earliest settlers entered Granville.[10]

Very meager evidence exists concerning land grants made by the Lords' Proprietors in granting land which lay in what was later Granville County. It is more than likely that there were very few settlers in Granville even at the end of the Proprietary period in 1729, because no settler in 1728 had gone so far west as Granville County on the northern boundary.[11] Nevertheless we find that two of the North Carolina commissioners for surveying the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia in 1728 evidently selected territory which later fell in Granville County as their reward for

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8 Collet, Map of North Carolina, (frontispiece); see also M'Culloh Deed in the Appendix.

9 R. D. W. Connor, History of North Carolina, I, 4.

10 See Chapter II.

11 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 398.

serving the colony. These two commissioners were so pleased with the fertility of Granville's soil that they chose it when there was an almost unlimited supply from which to make their selection. These two commissioners were Edward Mosely and William Little. Since they were given other tracts as rewards,[12] it is more than probable that the Granville tracts were also rewards because the deeds were dated 1728.[13] If they were not rewards, Moseley and Little entered the tracts as a result of the dividing line expedition which familiarized them with Granville soil. Moseley's tract consisted of ten thousand acres between Great Fishing and Shocco Creeks, now in Fork Township, Warren County. This huge area was known as Clun's Seat and was patented by Moseley November 4, 1728. Moseley held the land until his death. How and by whom it was granted is not known, but it was granted before possession of land passed from the Proprietors to the Crown.

Adjacent to Edward Moseley's ten thousand-acre tract lay William Little's estate of seven thousand five hundred acres, though it may have included more.[14] Little's land was north

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12 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 268f., 332.

13 B, 25, 111; C, 309; F, 374; Collet, Map of North Carclina. These references furnish the source for the remainder of the discussion of the commissioners' tracts.

14 B, 111. Two tracts of this land which amounted to seven thousand five hundred acres were sold, but there may have been other tracts sold of which there is no record.

of Moseley's, near the head of Shocco Creek. This tract was willed to William Little, Jr., and the date mentioned was December 5, 1728; hence it is possible that the land was patented on the same date that Moseley's was. Another interesting phase of this patent is that it was taken up at a rate of six shillings per hundred quit rent. This rent agrees in rate with one paid by Captain Joseph John Alston in 1765 on a tract of land in Granville County patented first in 1728 from the Crown.[15]

Apparently these above-mentioned patents were given by the Crown, though the title of the land at that time was vested in the Lords' Proprietors. During the same period grants were made by the Proprietors for land in Granville County. Only three days before the expiration of the Proprietors' title, a deed for seven hundred twenty six acres was granted at a quit rent of two shillings per hundred acres.[16] Doubtless these discrepancies were due partly to the confidence of the Crown officials that their propaganda would soon bring an end to the Proprietors' regime.[17] Grants could have been given over the heads of the Proprietors; or else the Proprietors allowed the Crown on such particular instances to make rewards from their domains.

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15 F, 550-51.

16 Ibid., 550-51.

17 R. D. W. Connor, History of North Carolina, I, 138.

From the Proprietary Period Granville County land passed under the sway of the Crown again. Previous to the Crown's accession in 1729 it is an assured fact that very little land had been taken up in Granville County because William Little and Edward Moseley had been able to acquire titles to huge tracts in the easternmost part of the County which was settled first; hence there must have been few land holders there. It seems quite likely that conditions remained somewhat the same under the proprietorship of the Crown. Virginians coming in from the north[18] must have squatted on any tract of land that pleased them though occasionally there are references in later deeds to grants secured in 1745 at Newbern.[19] All the references to grants dated in 1745 are concerned with land in the extreme eastern part of the County.[20] The location of this land granted before 1746 throws further light on the theory that perhaps many early settlers from Virginia settled on land without having secured a title, though there is, occasionally, reference to a tract of land that had been held for several years by authority of "A Settler's Deed"[21] which may have been a type of deed issued to people who were seated on

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18 E. M. Coulter, "The Granville District," James Sprunt Historical Publications, XIII, (1912), No. 1, 48.

19 A, 24, 19, 14, 17, 18, 23; B, 447-48.

20 Loc. cit.

21 A, 523.

land without a title. Naturally the eastern and northeastern sections of the County would be taken up first, but no references are made to such grants until one year before the County's formation. The County was not formed until there were a number of people in it.[22] Thus it would seem from the few records extant that land grants in Granville County prior to 1746 were very rare and were limited to the extreme eastern part of the County. As late as 1775 there were many substantial inhabitants of Granville who did not have legal titles to their land.[23] From the preceding discussion it is entirely evident that Granville was established in 1746 because there were many people settled there. Thousands of legal grants were registered from 1746 to 1776. Therefore many of the Virginians who came in from 1729 to 1746 must have squatted on the land with no pretense of a legal title. During the high-priced[24] troublous times immediately preceding the Revolutionary War, they became uneasy concerning legal titles for their land.[25]

Passing from the Crown's to the Earl of Granville's control of land in Granville County, a different world is entered. Granville County lay in a fertile territory which was in the

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22 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecomb" in the Appendix.

23 House Journals, C.R., X, 211.

24 See tables on land prices in Chapter II.

25 House Journals, C.R., X, 211.

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process of being settled, and was a small portion of the huge Granville tract sixty miles wide stretching from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the South Seas on the west.[26] According to the arrangements with the Earl of Granville concerning his one-eighth part of the Carolinas, Granville County's entire welfare was in his hands. He was more powerful than the Governor, for he was the ruler of the property rights which affected the people more intimately than politics.[27]

It was the Earl of Granville's intention to regulate affairs in his district in such a way that the people would be easy and quieted in their possessions. He desired his quit rents in specie and wanted an exact rent roll. Granville also realized that he was responsible for an estate, and wished to be useful in developing it. But he mistakenly regarded his district as a small area where it would be easy to make an exact rent roll.[28] With these good intentions Granville set his agents to giving titles for land. According to his agreement with the king each deed reserved one-fourth of all gold or silver that might be found on the premises for the king. For himself he reserved one-fourth of the remaining three-

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26 E. M. Coulter, "The Granville District," James Sprunt Historical Publications, XIII, 38.

27 Ibid., XIII, 37-39.

28 Granville District Papers, "Instructions for Corbin's going to North Carolina" (1744).

fourths of gold and silver and one-half of all other minerals besides all white pine trees then growing and all that should grow in the future. Furthermore, the grantee was required at first to pay a quit rent of four shillings proclamation money or three shillings sterling for each one hundred acres held. There was also a payment of three shillings proclamation money before the deed was delivered to the grantee. The quit rents were to be paid in two equal installments at the Granville County Court House on the feast days of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin and St. Michael the Archangel.[29] These days fell on March 25 and September 29 respectively.[30]

Other regulations were placed on the grantee besides rents. In order to obtain a tract of land, he was required within three years of the issuance of the deed to have three acres cleared and under cultivation for each hundred acres that he was granted, and so on for twenty-one years. On the other hand, if the new owner failed to clear and cultivate the required amount for any three years, he might build a dwelling in lieu of the failure to cultivate the land. The dwelling, though, had to be accompanied by five head of cattle for each one hundred acres obtained. In case any of the agreements were not kept by the grantee, the land was

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29 See an "Early Granville Deed"in the Appendix.

30 C, 256.

liable to revert to the Earl of Granville or his heirs.[31] The land was to be held in fee simple.[32] Such were the enthusiastic plans of the Earl of Granville in regard to Granville County and the other parts of his district. Had his territory been smaller and unsettled when he came into control of it, he possibly would have been able to have carried them out.

With no check on his agents, surveyors, receivers, and other dishonest officials,[33] Granville could not obtain the results which his instructions and provisions indicate that he wished to get. As an illustration of handicaps other than dishonest officials, the case of "Robert Jones, Junior, Gentleman of Surry County, Virginia" may be used. Jones was a lawyer[34] who could write his own deeds and thus eliminate some of the expense of taking up Granville District land. From 1748 to 1752 he took up thirty-six thousand four hundred forty six acres of land in Granville County[35] as follows:

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31 See an "Early Granville Deed" in the Appendix.

32 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

33 E. M. Coulter, "The Granville District," James Sprunt Historical Publications, XIII, 39.

34 A, 324.

35 Based on figures from Granville County Deed Books.

1748	9713
1749	835
1750	0
1751	1280
1752 . . .	24,280

From the above tables it is clear that he spent the years of 1749 and 1750 locating tracts of land that he wished to own and preparing deeds for them. In practically every case he chose areas of fertile lowgrounds on the larger creeks and rivers.[36] The utter impossibility of checking on Granville's requirements for seating each tract of land is easily apparent from the above table, especially when we learn that Jones' holdings included fifty-six separate tracts ranging in size from two hundred to twelve hundred acres. Another complicating factor was the fact that Jones was constantly selling land. Sometimes he sold the entire tract as he had patented it. If one of Granville's officials had attempted to check on part of a tract, he would never have been able to ascertain what Jones had cleared from what the next owner had cleared and cultivated. By 1753 Jones had sold thirty-eight tracts ranging in size from two hundred to twelve hundred and eighty acres. His lands extended from Colonel William

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36 Based on figures from Granville County Deed Books.

Pour on ignore dans Versailles le nom d'un Dieu.

Byrd's line on the Dan River[37] to Lynch 's Creek on the Tar River near the eastern boundary of colonial Granville.[38] Jones' business as a speculator in Granville lands became so heavy that, by or possibly before 1739, we find that he moved from Surry County, Virginia, to Northampton County in North Carolina[39] in order, no doubt, to be nearer Granville's headquarters. Later we find also that Jones had become Granville's agent.[40] Thus in the very beginning, Granville's plans were thwarted in Granville County alone.

In order to follow Jones' activities a step further it will be interesting to estimate roughly the amount of money that he must have made by speculating on Granville County land for a five year period. In 1752[41] and 1754[42] the cost of obtaining a deed for six hundred forty acres and two hundred thirty five acres was seven pounds each. Jones started his speculations earlier, but there was no friction for the first ten years, and presumably the charge of seven pounds remained

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37 B, 16.

38 B, 269.

39 C, 646.

40 F, 11; W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 179.

41 B, 408.

42 B, 409.

the same.[43] Acquiring titles to fifty-six grants cost Jones about three hundred ninety two pounds, if we assume that his legal knowledge and official position did not eliminate any of his expenses in obtaining the titles. During the same period from 1748 to 1752, he sold land which yielded one thousand six hundred ten pounds.[44] And he did not by any means sell his entire holdings. These figures reveal a profit of four hundred ten per cent which demonstrates the fact that there was tremendous profit in land speculation for the right person. There can be but little doubt that Robert Jones was working with an inside knowledge of Granville District affairs. His operations did not begin in 1746, but started two years later. Just as Robert Jones did, so did many other speculators. The greatest part of the land in the County was taken up by speculators in many separate tracts and passed on, without any improvements, to the man who tilled it; they served as go-betweens for the Granville farmers and the Earl of Granville's agents and fulfilled a laudable mission for tremendous profits.

Granville's agents granted very few tracts of land in Granville County during 1746;[45] none were given during 1747, but in 1748 and 1749 quite a number of tracts were granted.

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43 E. M. Coulter, "The Granville District," James Sprunt Historical Publications, XIII, 41.

44 Statistics from Granville County Deed Books.

45 See graph of Land Grants in Appendix.

From the above table showing Robert Jones' activities in acquiring land titles, a connection may be seen in the fact that no grants whatever were made in 1750 and that Jones received practically all the titles granted in 1751 and 1752. Evidently Jones was restricting the number of Granville grants by authority of his office, until he could select the choice tracts for himself.

As early as 1752 Childs and Corbin, Granville's agents, had oppressed the people of Granville by declaring null and void all patents issued by Moseley and Halton, their predecessors, because "Right Honorable Earl" had been left from Granville's signature which was written "Gr. by his attorneys."[46] It seems that matters continued to drift in such a way until 1758, when the first recorded complaint came to light. But in the meantine Jones had taken up the choicest land and no longer received any grants. The first complaint in Granville involved one of the Earl of Granville's surveyors and entry takers.[47] In 1758 evidently a number of people from Granville County petitioned the Assembly for redress.[48] Seemingly their troubles were like the incident when James Paine, Granville's entry taker in Granville County, entered

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46 W. H. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, (1846), 50.

47 Report of a Committee to Enquire into a Petition, C.R., V, 1092-93.

48 Ibid., V, 1092-93. Answers of Artnur Dobbs to Certain Resolutions, C.R., VI, 292-95.

a tract of land for George Platt in 1756 and assured him that no one else had entered the land. Paine received a fee from Platt for making the entry. Later Benjamin Ward applied to Sherwood Haywood, one of Granville's surveyors, for the same tract. Ward paid Haywood four pistoles to get the land from Platt, which Haywood did by persuading Paine to let him have the entry book. Then Haywood erased Platt's name and substituted Ward's. Since a number of Granville inhabitants were so agitated by the action that they petitioned the Assembly, there must have been other cases just as flagrant.

Jones had prepared the petition for redress and received a good fee for doing so. When the petition was sent to the Assembly by Barker, a friend of Jones, they united with Corbin against whom the petition was directed, and received money from him. For this sum of money Jones and Barker had the committee to report that the petitioners had no redress.[49] Jones thus lost favor with the people and became frightened. He asked the Governor to issue a proclamation offering a reward for rioters in Granville. He had heard that they intended to petition the court at Granville to silence him and if the court refused to do so, they intended to pull his nose.[50]

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49 Answers of Arthur Dobbs to Certain Resolutions, C.R., VI, 292-95.

50 Prefatory Note, C.R., V, p. lvii.

There was, however, doubt expressed by the rioters that the court would do so, because possibly the greatest part of the justices who composed the court was also implicated in the land squabble. The Reuben Searcy Petition had no connection with the land trouble because Searcy himself was robbing the people by refusing to turn in money which he had collected while sheriff,[51] and no doubt as a surveyor in Granville County,[52] he was also involved in the land schemes. There is no evidence that the county officers resented the poor management of land titles because they were also involved in land speculation as Jones had been.[53]

Evidently this tilt with Granville's agents in Granville County and the treatment of Corbin at Enfield had its effect on the policy of Granville's officials. In January, 1759, Corbin and Bodley signed an agreement which met with the approval of the inhabitants of Granville County and the remainder of the Granville District. By this agreement Corbin was to refund all fees that had been above the legal charge, to remove every deputy surveyor to whom objection was made, to appoint men of highest character as surveyors

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51 G, 261; House Journals, C.R., IX, 572.

52 "Administrators account of John Sims' Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 50.

53 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

and entry takers, and to have one entry book open for inspection at all times.[54] These agreements seem to have caused a vigorous reaction in the matter of taking up land from the Earl of Granville. While the disputes were in progress during 1758 and 1759, the number of Granville grants dropped to a very low ebb in Granville County. With the issuance of these new rulings by the Earl of Granville in September, 1759, land transfer became active, and the number of Granville grants made a tremendous increase in 1760, which year marked the peak of the business.[55] According to the new ruling no continuous tract larger than six hundred forty or seven hundred acres could be granted, and entries of all vacant lands were to be inspected by reliable persons. This last ruling indicates that land had been entered when it was not vacant, that is, it had been reported as being improperly seated when it had really been seated according to the requirements. No doubt, though, the new ruling concerning vacant lands caused the re-granting of many tracts that had not been properly seated by 1759, and these grants of improperly seated lands helped to increase the number of Granville grants in 1760.

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54 Article Made and Agreed Upon etc., Granville District Papers.

55 See graph on Land Grants in Appendix. Extracts from the Lords' Original Instructions filed in Edenton Office, September 25, 1759, Granville District Papers.

A further indication that Granville's land office was conducted in a more orderly manner after the disturbances of 1759, lies in the fact that the size of no grant was more than seven hundred acres. Granville's order for surveying six hundred forty or seven hundred-acre tracts was sedulously obeyed from 1760 through 1763.[56] Judging from the great amount of land granted in 1760, 1761, and 1762, it seems that all improperly seated land had reverted to Granville and was regranted during that time. In a word the sudden increase in the number of Granville grants in 1760 was due to the agreements which Corbin and Bodley signed and to the agents', at least, temporary obedience to the Earl of Granville's order issued in 1759.

Concerning the payment of quit rents in Granville County there are varying records. In 1752 a tract of land was sold in the County "subject to the growing quit rents due to the Lord of theSoil."[57] Later a grantee in a deed made in 1759 agreed to pay the back quit rents due since 1749.[58] Two years later another grantee promised to pay quit rents which had been due for one year on land that he was buying.[59]

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56 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

57 B, 95.

58 C, 672.

59 D, 302.

Later still we find a summary of the rents due to the Earl of Granville on thirteen thousand three hundred twenty six acres, the most of which lay in other counties.[60] This summary had every evidence of being legal. It was dated March 25, 1763, and with some tracts, the rents had been due for only a year; on others for three years; and still others for four years. The summary was marked paid and signed by Robert Jones for the Earl of Granville. In 1774 deeds were written that made no mention whatever of quit rents.[61] On the other hand, clauses were inserted as late at 1776 whereby the grantee was required to pay the quit rents due from that date.[62] From such heterogeneous facts it is impossible to draw any definite generalization concerning the payment of quit rents in Granville County. Evidence indicates, however, that an owner of many registered grants was required to account for his quit rents, while the small land holder probably did not have to account for his rents so rigidly. The records also reveal the fact that the matter of rents due Granville were not considered with so much seriousness as the legal phraseology of the early deeds would indicate.

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60 F, 550-51.

61 L, 28.

62 L, 66.

Laxness in surveying was also prevalent during the entire period. Practically every man who owned any number of acres possessed a surveyor's compass and was accustomed to using. it.[63] Surveying was actually done without a compass, and we read statements of this type: the line runs "by a long line chopt by William Holley without a cumpass but running near or about north."[64] Such lax methods indicate great mistakes in surveys, and in 1757 Granville granted to William Eaton a tract of land, "being the quantity contained in the three patents held by Colonel William Eaton the surplus of which land on a resurvey amounts to in the whole 940 acres."[65]

The Earl of Granville's possessions in Granville County were not controlled as he wished them to be. The blame for that state of affairs rested on the land speculators who made profits without contributing anything to the improvement of the land, on Granville's dishonest agents, and on unbusiness-like methods of collecting quit rents and surveying. The Earl of Granville had the greatest responsibility of anyone connected with Granville County's development, but he allowed the duties to be placed on dishonest agents, thus causing trouble for his tenants and fraud for himself.

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63 Inventory of any Estate found in Granville County Record Book, I.

64 H, 504.

65 C, 463.

Another complicating factor to add to the matter of land titles in colonial Granville was the question of Henry M'Culloh's twelve thousand five-hundred acre tract on the Tar, Flat, and Eno rivers. In the County it lay on the Tar River and Knap of Reeds, Ledge of Rocks, and Newlight Creeks. M'Culloh received his grant from the King on March 3, 1745.[66] The Earl of Granville's southern boundary had not been surveyed at that time, and when it was run, M'Culloh's land was found to be in the Granville District.[67] M'Culloh was to seat his land at the rate of one person to each two hundred acres.[68] As a result all the M'Culloh grants were for two hundred acres or thereabouts.[69] Existence of this special grant in Granville's district caused much trouble. M'Culloh's agents were intimidated by Granville's officials, and there was steady friction until 1755, when Granville and M'Culloh agreed on the matter of quit rents.[70] Granville agreed to give up all claims to the land if M'Culloh would pay him a fixed sum annually from 1757 to 1760. After 1760 M'Culloh

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66 See M'Culloh Deed in the Appendix. Collet, Map of North Carolina; E. M. Coulter, "The Granville District," James Sprunt Historical Publications, XIII, 49.

67 E. M. Coulter, op. cit., 49.

68 Ibid., 49.

69 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

70 E. M. Coulter, op. cit., 49. M'Culloh Deed in the Appendix.

promised to pay regular quit rents to Granville. If he did not seat the land at the rate of one settler for each two hundred acres, he would surrender the title to Granville in 1760.

Evidently M'Culloh had difficulties in properly seating the Granville tract, because he sold a large tract to an Englishman, Chauncey Townsend in 1756,[71] thereby relieving himself of the task of seating it. Both Townsend and M'Culloh sold many tracts along Knap of Reeds, Ledge of Rocks, and Newlight creeks.[72] During 1763 M'Culloh sold great numbers of two hundred-acre tracts, but shortly afterwards, his son, Henry Eustace M'Culloh bought back what his father had sold.[73] In addition his father gave him many tracts on Ledge of Rocks, and Knap of Reeds creeks. Henry Eustace M'Culloh tried to develop a settlement in the southwestern corner of the County[74] and evidently was rather successful with his development, because the settlement was well under way in 1765[75] and continued so until the Revolution.[76] He made journeys through

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71 M'Culloh Deed in the Appendix.

72 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

73 F, 533.

74 H, 10.

75 Based on number of tracts issued in H. E. M'Culloh's name in Deed Books; H, 10.

76 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXII, 111; House Journals, S.R., XXV, 110-11.

his lands where he had definite places advertised for the collection of his rents.[77] M'Culloh transacted his affairs in a business-like manner and seemed to be genuinely interested in his development. All purchasers of any M'Culloh land had to agree to become tenants of Lord Granville by a process of attornment in which they recognized Granville as a landlord superior to M'Culloh.[79] Another reservation which the Earl of Granville placed on M'Culloh's land was that one-fifth of all the gold and silver that might be discovered should go to the Earl of Granville, regardless of whether it was held by M'Culloh or by someone to whom he had sold it. In the same manner one-tenth of all other minerals were to be reserved for him.[80] Eventually M'Culloh's property was confiscated by the government.[81] The requirement that all M'Culloh land be sold in two hundred-acre tracts was a decisive factor in causing the average size of grants to be as small as they were.[82] M'Culloh's activities in regard to his settlement

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77 Letter from H. E. M'Culloh to Richard Bennehan, C.R., IX, 345.

78 H, 10.

79 F, 454.

80 See M'Culloh Deed in Appendix.

81 House Journals, S.R., XXV, 110-11.

82 See Chapter II for table showing average size of land grants.

also help to explain the great increase in the conveyance of land from one party to another in 1763.[83]

When land once got by the speculator and reached the farmer, it was rapidly divided into even smaller tracts. During the first part of the colonial period there were innumerable tracts of land containing six hundred and forty or seven hundred acres, but later the tract with three hundred and twenty acres was found more frequently.[84] From the table above,[85] it will be seen that the average tracts were not large; both the Granville and citizen grants were small. In fact there were only a few tracts granted that contained more than one thousand acres. Of course, Edward Moseley's and William Little's tracts were larger, but they were soon subdivided.[86] Aside from these two tracts there were only fifty-one registered grants during the entire colonial period that included more than one thousand acres, and none of them contained so much as two thousand acres.[87] Land was transferred often; it was very common for a tract to change hands

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83 See Graph in Appendix.

84 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

85 Chapter II.

86 B, 25; C, 309; F, 374.

87 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

three or four times during a ten year period.[88] Occasionally there is record that a freehold estate came into the possession of a free man by a ceremony called livery and seisin or feudal investiture. In gaining possession of land by this formality, the grantor usually gave a piece of turf and a twig from the land which was being transferred to the grantee as a symbol of possession.[89]

The desirability of Granville lands is seen in the legal phraseology of the deeds. Scarcely any deeds were written without the terms "water courses" and "lowgrounds" being included. In fact early settlements may be traced to the fertile lowgrounds on Nutbush, Spew Marrow and some sections of the Tar River. One very valuable piece of lowground land was known as Alston's Lowgrounds and sold at the fabulous price of fifty shillings per acre in 1771.[90] The fertile lowground land was taken up first. Henry M'Culloh, the father of Henry Eustace M'Culloh, was also moved to get his twelve thousand five hundred-acre tract on the Eno, Neuse and Tar by the great amount of lowgrounds there. His grant included more such land than any other grant of a similar size in the County could have included.

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88 IJ, 377.

89 A, 48, 552.

90 IJ, 213.

Obtaining a tract of land from the Earl of Granville usually involved a set fee for issuing the deed and surveying the land, but after a citizen acquired a tract of land and made a few improvements on it, it was much more valuable. It seems also that a higher value was placed on the land after it was obtained from Lord Granville,[91] possibly due to the inconvenience of getting a Granville deed. Despite these facts, there was considerable fluctuation in the prices of land during the colonial period, ranging from one shilling and six pence in 1746 to eleven shillings and four pence in 1775.[92] As may be seen, the value of land rose steadily from 1746 to 1755. After a slight decline land prices began rising again in 1764, the year following the greatest land boom in colonial Granville, when three hundred thirty four registered tracts of land changed hands.[93] Land was highest just preceding the Revolutionary War. During the five year period before the War it was six times as valuable as it was in 1746.

Though the title of land in Granville was vested in the Crown, the Lords' Proprietors, the Earl of Granville, and Henry M'Culloh, the people of Granville were chiefly

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91 See discussion of Robert Jones and land speculation elsewhere in this chapter.

92 See table in Chapter II.

93 See Graph in Appendix.

concerned in getting land from the Earl of Granville. Before Granville's land office opened, many settlers squatted on his land without a title. Those who rightfully obtained deeds were defrauded by speculators and Granville's agents, both of whom used every means to enrich themselves. The people finally rebelled and Granville's agents were forced to act somewhat more honestly. The matter of quit rents was a hopeless jumble, and methods of surveying were worse. M'Culloh furnished a hopeless tangle of rents, attornment, buying, selling, and rebuying. Land prices remained comparatively low in the beginning, but later increased rapidly. The matter of dispensing land was hedged in by complicated rules that were not enforced.

CHAPTER V

Agriculture and Other Industries

The importance of land titles in Granville is even more outstanding when one is confronted with the fact that farming was the most important industry[1] of the County during the colonial period. Trapping and hunting engaged the attention of the settlers first from necessity. It was only a natural situation; for the bounteous supply of animal life was waiting for immediate use at the pioneer's arrival, while the pursuit of agriculture required expensive preparation. As pointed out above the game of the County furnished a source of daily food supply, besides affording a means of barter or a source for money. The facilities for hunting and trapping were so widespread that both continued to be

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1 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

important in the County's economic life throughout the colonial period. Eighteen years before the establishment of the County there were frontiersmen within its borders who earned their living in the woods as guides and hunters. These men's mode of life resulted in their being well versed in forest lore.[2] After the launching of the County as a political entity, the very same type of character is found in the person of Henry Day. Day was recommended to Bishop Spangenburg as a hunter who was an excellent guide, and evidently he gave splendid service, because the cautious Bishop in turn recommended him to his brethern as one who could help them find the tracts of land which he had taken up.[3] Somewhat later a tract of land on Tar River was sold for a much higher price than surrounding tracts because it included a beaver house which presumably was a storage house or bartering place for beaver skins.[4] Near the end of the colonial period deer skins sold at public vendues for three shillings and three pence each[5] which was equal to the price of half an acre of land. No doubt the regular selling price was higher. Perhaps the Indians were the example for this early type of huntsman.

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2 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 157.

3 Diary of Bishop Spangenburg, C.R., V, 4.

4 L, 7.

5 "Sale of John Banks' Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 116.

Instead of sending for frontiersmen who had, then, not come in great numbers, Byrd sent for Indians to supply his camp with meat.[6] Thus from the days of Indians and scarcely any white settlers to the prosperous period immediately preceding the Revolution, the animal life of the County continued to furnish a means of livlihood, but near the end of the period in 1773 the first note of warning concerning a scarcity of animal life was sounded. Various inhabitants of Granville and surrounding counties petitioned the Assembly to enact a law preventing the obstruction of the passage of fish in the rivers and creeks.

The wild life attracted only a very small portion of the Granville settlers. In search of a country which would furnish better farming facilities, the Virginians moved into Granville believing it to be true that "the soyl of North Caroline is much better than that of Virginia."[7] As was pointed out above, the alluvial plains along the numerous streams where canes and reeds grew abundantly, led the settlers into Granville. If we accept Bishop Spangenburg's account of the farming there during 1752, it will seem useless

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6 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 159.

7 Lords of Trade to Thomas Lowndes, C.R., III, 49; W. Neil Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, III (January - October, 1926), 545.

to discuss the matter further, for he said

> "...though if you except the culture of Indian corn & raising of hogs there is but little done on these plantations. As far as cattle & stock are concerned - it is purely their fare to see to it how they get through the winter; with horses it is no better. If they survive it - they survive it! Hay they have none for there are no meadows, & corn fodder & tops do not go far. Thus in winter the people have no milk at all, & when spring comes the cows are so nearly starved out as to be of little benefit till harvest. This may be the reason that their horses are not much larger than English colts - and their cows the size of their yearlings."[8]

On the other hand we could take Governor Martin's opinion twenty years later when he wrote that,

> "Granville and Bute have great preeminence, as well with respect to soil and cultivation, as the manners and condition of the Inhabitants in which last respect the difference is so great, that one is led to think their people of another Region. These advantages arise I conceive from the vicinity of Virginia, from whence I understand many people invited by the superior excellence of the soil have migrated to settle in these counties."[9]

Bishop Spangenburg had traveled one hundred fifty three miles over poor roads in vain search of a large tract of vacant land when he reached Granville County, and doubtless his lack of

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8 Diary of Bishop Spangenburg, C.R., V, 2.

9 Letter from Governor Martin to Secretary, C.R., IX, 349.

success caused him not to be very enthusiastic concerning the surrounding country. Be that as it may, there were farmers in Granville at the time of the Bishop's visit who owned three or four slaves, as many as twelve horses, and a herd of twenty four cattle.[10] Three years later we find farms stocked with five horses, twenty eight cattle, and a stock of sheep and hogs.[11] Then we may assume that agriculture had reached a stage of some importance within five years of the County's official beginning.

A newcomer had quite a lot of work to do before he could begin to harvest a crop. As a usual method of procedure in the Piedmont section of North Carolina, the settler cleared a piece of land and built a house with the logs which he cut from the clearing. Some of the trees were afterward used for making rails; the remaining ones were barked for two or three feet around so that they would die the following year. The dead trees were left standing[12] and the land soon became covered with grass, due to the fact that the trees no longer drew strength from the ground. The turf of grass was then plowed under with a one-horse plow. Indian

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10 B, 27.

11 C, 7.

12 John W. Moore, History of North Carolina, From the Earliest Discoveries to the Present Times, (1900), 90.

corn, peas, beans, or wheat were sown[13] for, perhaps, two or three years when the worn-out land was discarded and left to natural growth. In this fashion land was cleared, tended, exhausted, and discarded in a regular cycle.[14]

The Granville farmer's tools in 1761 were varied. He had sufficient implements to produce a crop of corn and to make hogsheads besides having axes and a grindstone.[15] Toward the end of the period in 1770, tools were quite plentiful; there were reap hooks, plows, hoes, plow shares, weeding and hilling hoes, and cross cut saws.[16] In addition to these there were Jack plows, handsaws, drawing knives, the adz, wagons, and harness.[17] The broad ax, a large auger, and the claw hammer were also a part of the farmer's equipment.[18] That many of the farms of colonial Granville were almost wholly self-sufficient, there is proof in the possession of other implements, like a set of smith's tools, shoemaker's

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13 W. N. Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, III (Jan. - Oct., 1926) Nos. 1-4, 546.

14 Ibid., 547.

15 E, 429. See also list of farming tools in Appendix.

16 "Inventory of Thomas Lowe's Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 79.

17 Ibid., I, 61; K, 262.

18 "Inventory of Thomas Lowe's Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 63.

hammer,[19] awls, nippers, gimlets, chisels, fish gigs,[20] carpenter's tools, cooper's tools, and a complete set of shoemaker's tools.[21] Thus we see that the colonial farmer was fairly well equipped as far as variety of tools was concerned.

With these implements he produced almost the identical crops made today though, of course, not with so much ease. Probably the most common crop was Indian corn. In 1752 Bishop Spangenburg remarked that very little was done on the plantations but raise Indian corn.[22] In July a farmer refers to a fodder stack, growing corn, and fifty barrels of Indian corn[23] which was an unusually large supply for that season of the year.

Wheat is scarcely, if ever, referred to in Granville records, but it must have been a common crop, because Governor Tryon made a requisition on the Hico Settlement for sixty barrels of flour and on the Grassy Creek Settlement

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19 K, 271.

20 "Inventory of George Whitlock's Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 63.

21 Ibid., I, 63.

22 Bishop Spangenburg's Diary, C.R., V, 3.

23 IJ, 215.

for twenty barrels in May of 1771.[24] He intended to use the supply on the march against the Regulators. To expect eighty barrels of flour from two small communities before harvest time implied that wheat was a general crop throughout the County.

Tobacco was grown in Granville County as early as 1751, but very probably not for commerce; it was used for the payment of parish and county taxes.[25] In an action of debt appearing before the Granville court on May 10, 1763, the plaintiff, John Person, was awarded a sum of money and one hundred forty five pounds of tobacco which was valued at twenty two pounds, fifteen shillings and four pence.[26] Thus the production of tobacco must have been a flourishing industry as early as 1762, since the price was very high. It also was grown and sold in the County in 1767, when it cost more than seven pounds for haulings, inspecting, and ferrying four hogsheads of tobacco to Petersburg, Virginia.[27] Whether or not it was sold by the farmers

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24 Additional Papers Relating to the War of the Regulation, C.R., VIII, 715.

25 House Journals, C.R., IV, 1276.

26 Granville County Court Record, (1754-1770), 81.

27 "Administrator's Account of John Sims' Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 50.

before 1762 is uncertain, since Virginia had a law against bringing Carolina tobacco into Virginia whereby one-half was to be forfeited to the Queen and the remainder would go to the one who did the reporting. Since the law was adopted in 1705[28] and repeated in 1726, it could have been unenforced or rescinded before Granville's formation. Bishop Spangenburg in 1752, when writing under a Granville County date line, stated that "Tobacco is raised in considerable quantities but it is generally taken to Suffolk or Norfolk in Va. Here it is examined by the Inspectors - i.e. the officers appointed for that purpose; all that is merchantable is selected - the remainder is burnt. The Va. merchants ship that which is fit, & pay the Ca. farmers what they please for their tobacco."[29] According to Lord Adam Gordon's comment on the town of Halifax in 1764, the tobacco industry had evidently been in a flourishing condition throughout the vicinity of Halifax. His exact words are, "... and you cross Tar River and Several Creeks before you come to Roanoke on which is Halifax, a small and pretty place and was thriving before Tobacco fell, but is now falling off."[30] Halifax

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28 William Walker Hening, (editor), The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia (1619 - 1808), III, 253.

29 Diary of Bishop Spangenburg, C.R., V, 1, 2.

30 Newton D. Mereness, Travels in the American Colonies, (1916), 403.

drew heavily on Granville as a source of supplies,[31] and beyond a doubt, the failure of any industry that would affect Halifax so seriously would also affect Granville as seriously. The tobacco industry was actually well established in Granville in 1762 when the price was very high.

Evidently there was quite a drop in tobacco prices from 1762 to 1771. In 1762 it was selling at the rate of seven pounds for one pound sterling, but in 1771 eleven hogsheads of tobacco brought only slightly more than ten pounds.[32] During the same year another farmer mentions two thousand plants of what was evidently a surplus supply of tobacco in his barn.[33] The growth of tobacco, then, was an industry in Granville as early as 1752, and was definitely established by 1762, but the crop had declined in importance even in 1764, when it was only a vestige of what it had been.

Fruit was a more important item in the life of the colonial citizen of Granville than is generally supposed. Early in the period in mentioning the valuable articles connected with a tract of land, such as springs, minerals, forests, houses, and so forth, the deeds began to include

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31 See Chapter VI, Transportation.

32 Granville County Record Book, I, 119.

33 IJ, 215.

orchards.[34] In 1760 in the description of a tract of land reference was made to "a stump in Persons' Young apple Orchard,"[35] and one year earlier Peach Orchard Branch was referred to in the same way;[36] consequently peach orchards must have been quite common for some time before 1759, in order to have such a named stream referred to as an established land mark. In 1773 a Granville citizen in giving a mortgage on his growing crops mentioned his peaches and corn as of equal importance.[37] Evidently fruit was essential because of a diet which must have consisted largely of pork, beef, and corn bread. In winter the fruit was still included in their diet in the form of brandy. A citizen in 1761 listed eight cider hogsheads among his possessions.[38] A tremendous amount of brandy could have been made from that quantity of cider, and brandy sold at the rate of four shillings per gallon.[39] In distilling the fruit juices the heaviest expense lay in the still and worm which sold for as much as twenty-two

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34 H, 140; G, 361.

35 G, 152.

36 C, 630.

37 K, 262.

38 E, 429.

39 Granville County Record Book, I, 64.

pounds and eleven shillings.[40] The only method of preserving fruits at that time lay in making brandy, and according to records, the greatest part of the strong drink consisted of brandy.

Cotton with an excellent staple was raised on most North Carolina farms for domestic use only.[41] Such was evidently the case in Granville. A stream named Cotton Patch Branch was used for identifying a tract of land as early as 1768.[42] Spinning wheels and cards[43] were mentioned occasionally in lists of property. The cards were used for straightening the fibre in order that the cotton might be spun into thread, after which it was ready for use in weaving the family's supply of cloth. Flax was also produced, as is indicated by the possession of flax wheels and heckles.[44] No doubt these two products gave occupation to women, children, and slaves.

The chief industry of the County, according to the observant Bishop Spangenburg, lay in raising Indian corn,

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40 "True Account of the Sale of the Estate of Nicholas Holstein," Granville County Record Book, I, 92.

41 Francois-Xavier Martin, The History of North Carolina, From the Earliest Period, (1829), 396.

42 H, 398.

43 "Inventory of George Whitlock's Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 63.

44 "Sale of John Harris' Estate, " Granville County Record Book, I, 61.

but according to him also, the livestock industry was sadly neglected. To such an extent was this true, says the Moravian Bishop, that horses and cattle must shift for themselves, even during the winter months. There was neither hay nor meadow, but only a few tops and some corn fodder, which did not go very far. The people had no milk in winter, and in the spring the cows were so near starvation that they were of no benefit until harvest time. This lack of food, the Bishop thought, explained why the horses were no larger than colts and the cows no bigger than yearlings. The possession of butter pots and churns,[45] however, indicated that they had milk to some extent. The herds of cattle were not so large as the droves of hogs. Taken at random the sizes of cattle herds were as follows:

1751 . . . 24 head of cattle[46]
1755 . . . 28 head of cattle[47]
1761 . . . 16 head of cattle[48]

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45 Inventories found in Granville County Record Book, I, passim.

46 B, 27.

47 C, 7.

48 E, 429.

1763 . . . 5 cows and calves[49]

1775 . . . 15 head of cattle[50]

1775 . . . 11 cows and steers[51]

In the same fashion the sizes of the droves of hogs were as follows:

1755 . . . stock of hogs.[52]

1773 . . . 65 hogs.[53]

1775 . . . 40 hogs.[54]

1775 . . . 28 hogs.[55]

Quite frequently the droves of hogs were so large that no accurate check was kept on the number bearing one man's brand. Sheep were also raised in large numbers and were found in the County quite early.[56] The wool was used at home; for wool wheels were in use in the County as early as 1755.[57] The

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49 E, 1.

50 K, 271.

51 L, 120.

52 C, 7.

53 K, 127.

54 L, 18.

55 K, 271.

56 E, 1.

57 C, 7.

farms were also well stocked with horses from the very first; one farmer in 1752 mentioned the possession of six horses and six mares.[58]

The production of livestock was not so simple as it appeared to Bishop Spangenburg. As an exact reversal of present day conditions, stock was allowed to range loose, while fields, of necessity had to be fenced. In 1776 the fields of Granville farmers were fenced[59] and had been before, as appears from the fact that the Assembly in 1715 had passed elaborate laws about fencing crops; therefore during the entire colonial period the farmers of Granville were contending with the problem of fenced fields and loose live stock. Every planter was required to have around his cleared grounds a fence five feet high with not more than a four-inch space between the rails for the first three feet of the fence. Unless these requirements were met, he could get no damage for any injury that another person's hogs or cattle might do to his growing crops. If the owner's fences were insufficient and he maimed any other person's live stock with a gun or dog, he was liable for damages. Only one witness' testimony was needed, provided the damage to the livestock was estimated at no more than forty shillings. When horses, hogs, or

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58 B, 27; Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

59 L, 8, 21.

cattle trespassed, the condition of the fence was to be decided by two freeholders. If the fence were declared sufficient, the owner of the stock had to make full satisfaction.[60] Hence, the burden lay on the man with the cleared grounds and growing crops. The seriousness of the livestock problem to the colonial farmer is clearly demonstrated from the court cases.[61] During a period of sixteen years from 1754 to 1770, one thousand four hundred and thirty five cases appeared before his Majesty's Justices in Granville, and of that number, fifty-five per cent was due to the trespass of livestock. In practically every case the plaintiff was awarded damages, and in remarkably few suits were the plaintiffs taxed with the costs and thrown on the mercy of the court for their "false clamour."

Allowing the livestock to range loose introduced another complication in the form of brands, their registration, and meaning. Cattle and hogs were often stolen and the brand defaced, while unbranded animals were stolen and branded with the wrong mark. Therefore, all horses eighteen months old or older had to be branded, and likewise six months old hogs, while cattle one year old had to be ear marked.[62] It was

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60 Act of Assembly, C.R., XXIII, 61, 62.

61 Statistics from Granville County Court Records, (1754 - 1770)

62 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 154, 167.

customary to brand horses on the flank and to mark hogs and cattle in the ear. Such marks were used as a crop and a hole in the right ear or "a swallow fork in the Left Year & a nick under and over the Right Year", or for horses an "L" or a stirrup iron on the flank.[63] Before Granville's formation, Robert Harris, a prominent citizen used a crop in each ear for his mark; Edward Jones, a crop and a slit in the right ear and a crop and a half moon over the left; while William Eaton had a close crop in the left ear and a figure eight on the buttock.[64] All brands had to be recorded with the clerk of the court. Cattle brought in already branded had to be rebranded within eight months in the presence of two witnesses who were to sign a certificate to that effect. Any person who stole or misbranded another's livestock, for the first offense, was fined ten pounds proclamation money plus the value of the animal. For the second offense he was given forty lashes and branded with a "T" in the left hand by means of a red hot iron, besides having to pay the fine again. For an Indian, slave, or mulatto the penalty for the first offense was to have both ears cut off, while for the second it was death.[65]

It was probably customary for the owner to put his live

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63 E, 428; L, 271; 120.

64 Marks and Brands of Edgecombe County (1732-1809), (In North Carolina Historical Commission Office, Raleigh, N.C.)

65 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 166-67.

stock in a pen in the winter in order to feed them, because such names as these were in use: Horsepen Branch,[66] Cowlick Branch,[67] Hogpen Branch,[68] and Pigpen Branch.[69] There was a law relative to strange cattle getting into a man's cowpen.[70] In event a strange cow did get in, the owner of the pen was required to give public notice of the animal's marks at the parish church doors or in case there was no church, at the court house. The notice was to be given within one month, under penalty of twelve shillings proclamation money.

Granville farmers produced much live stock, but were hedged in by so many regulations that they had no easy time between fencing cleared lands and caring for stock legally. The fact that more than half of the cases in court were connected with the live stock problem sheds light on its importance to the people.

Directly connected with the farmers were the millers, who found Granville County an ideal location. With Indian corn as the chief crop and suitable streams in every locality, mills flourished in colonial Granville. In fact, they were the very backbone of existence. The importance of the millers

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66 E, 393.

67 G, 72.

68 K, 180.

69 D, 316.

70 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 167.

was recognized by the Colony when they were exempted from military service.[71] There were only two or three water mills in North Carolina at the time of Brickell's writing which was just before 1737,[72] but by 1749 the grist mill had made its appearance in Granville.[73] From 1749 to 1776 there were forty-one separate mills casually referred to in deeds.[74] Of course, nothing like all of them were included in such an estimate; for all deeds were not registered, nor could all the mills have been mentioned in describing tracts of land. Men at that time had a keen eye for mill sites. In selling tracts of land, they sometimes reserved excellent locations for grist mills.[75] Evidently there was a supply of millstones in the County, which fact greatly lessened the cost of installing a grist mill.[76] Possibly that fact helped to account for the great number of mills.

The Assembly made an elaborate set of laws for the

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71 Prefatory Note, C.R., V, p. xli.

72 John Brickell, Natural History of North Carolina, (1737), 263.

73 A, 251.

74 Statistics based on Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

75 IJ, 397.

76 F, 488.

regulation of the grist mills. The most of them were passed in 1758, nine years after the first mention of a mill in Granville. No matter if a person owned the land on both sides of a stream, it was illegal to erect a public water grist mill without an order from court. Any mill which ground for toll was accounted a public mill.[77] This law concerning the necessity of a court order for building a mill was obeyed in Granville.[78] In case a man owned the land on only one side of a stream and wanted to build a mill, he named the owner who, with four freeholders, was appointed a committee to set a reasonable value on one acre which the owner was then obliged to sell to the man building, provided the acre took away no houses, gardens, nor orchards. Neither could mills be built any nearer than two miles of each other on the same stream. A person who had an acre condemned across from the place where he wished to build a mill, was allowed three years in which to build the mill, but it was obligatory that it be built in that period of time.[79] The miller was also obliged to grind carefully, in turn all grain carried to the mill. He was not allowed to take as toll more than one-eighth of the wheat nor more than one-sixth of the corn. In case he

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77 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 485.

78 H, 375.

79 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 486.

Assembly, E.J., XVIII, 185.

broke either of these regulations, he was to forfeit fifteen shillings to the person who was injured. The miller was required to keep accurate measures which were to be stamped by the county keeper of the standard.[80] In the face of such a widespread industry it was necessary to have strict regulations. The colonial miller must have been a man of means; for his occupation gave him just what he needed for use in raising live stock, which was a very important industry in the County. His droves of hogs, sheep, and cattle should have been in excellent condition due to the fact that he was able to keep a steady supply of corn.

The making of tar is an industry which is not usually associated with colonial Granville, but all evidences point to the fact that it was an occupation there. Spangenburg says that tar was made in the vicinity, and Tarkill Branch, on the east side of Smith's Creek was a landmark of colonial days,[81] It is certain that tar was made in northern Granville, and more than probable that it was hauled away in carts to Halifax or Edenton.[82] Tar skimmers were in the possession of Granville inhabitants.[83] Tar burning, then, was an occupation, but not of very much consequence.

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80 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 487.

81 E, 41.

82 F, 320.

83 Inventories of Estates, Granville County Record Book, I.

Among the trappers, farmers, millers, and tar burners there were a number of merchants ranging from London firms and Scottish establishments to Virginia, Halifax, and Granville merchants.[84] There were two centers for the location of the store houses. The most popular one seems to have been in the locality of the present town of Oxford, somewhat between Oxford and Fishing Creek. There, several different merchants held small and large tracts of land which they bought in advantageous locations, usually near or adjacent to one of their competitors.[85] The fork road in Harrisburg formed by the intersection of Corbintown old Road and the Main Road[86] was a particularly desirable location. There a store was operated by James Young and Company with headquarters in Halifax,[87] but in reality a part of the Scottish partnership which included a large number of the merchants who traded in Granville.[88] These cautious Scotch traders came in and bought land contiguous to Hamilton and Company's property after Hamilton and Company had made a decided success in that location.[89]

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84 See list of merchants in Appendix.

85 H, 94; L, 123; G, 355; F, 339.

86 See Chapter VI, Transportation.

87 H, 94.

88 K, 156, 158.

89 H, 94. Granville County Trial Docket, (1764-1767). (In the section on actions for the years 1764 and 1765).

With an eye to the future, the copartnership of John Alston, Robert Carmichael, James Young,[90] James Morton, Alexander Grindlay, Andrew Miller, William Littlejohn, and George Alston in 1772 bought from a widow one-third of her life time interest in a tract of land on the east side of Fishing Creek.[91] No doubt the prudent merchants from Glasgow lived to regret that expenditure, because they probably received little return from it before the Revolution stopped their operations. This same copartnership carried on trade either in each individual's name, in the name of James Young and Company,[92] in the name of Robert Carmichael and Company,[93] in the name of Young, Miller, and Company, or John Alston and Company.[94] Their business was carried on in a strictly legal manner. Whenever power of attorney was given one of the partners, it was sworn to before the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and duly recorded in the books of the Public Register in Granville.[95] Some of the partners, of course, remained in Glasgow

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90 K, 156.

91 IJ, 387.

92 IJ, 392.

93 IJ, 118.

94 IJ, 120.

95 IJ, 120.

while others worked in America.[96] These merchants obtained judgments against their debtors, and when the property was sold usually bought it for much less than the amount of the original debt.[97] They also took mortgages on their debtors' property,[98] and thus became the owners of extensive tracts of land which they were continually trading and selling.[99] There is little reason to doubt that they were not cordially despised by the people as a whole, for they had a strong grip on the property of the County and did not hesitate to use it for their own ends. All types of property were handled by the Scottish merchants from land and slaves to "green handled pen knives, second hand or new."[100] Likewise, they were very careful of their "lawful interest always."[101] A good mill site rarely failed to attract some member of the firm, and soon it would be recorded as the property of the company.[102] Such gradual absorption of the choicest property in the hands of the Scotch doubtless made them more generally despised.

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96 IJ, 118.

97 H, 153; IJ, 399.

98 K, 71; IJ, 411.

99 H, 137; IJ, 131, 397; K, 156, 158, 148.

100 K, 89.

101 K, 65.

102 H, 287.

By 1763 another prosperous Scottish company was conducting a store just west of Fishing Creek, very near the present town of Oxford.[103] Then Thomas Blount, an Edenton merchant, who had formerly belonged to the Scottish partnership of Young, Alston, and Carmichael, seeing their evident prosperity, bought two small tracts of land in the same vicinity. In fact, he paid twenty pounds for one acre between Harrisburg and the court house next to Hamilton's line.[104] At Williamsboro, where the Hico and Taylor's Ferry roads intersected, there was another advantageous location.[105] Here the firm of Forsyth Watson and Company, also Scotch, bought in 1763, a tract of land which "included the forks of the Roads to Taylor's Ferry and to Halifax town,"[106] where they later built a store.[107] Somewhere in the same vicinity a store was operated prior to 1773 by Cannon and Taylor.[108] From contemporary records the earliest merchandising carried on in Granville was in 1753,[109] and there is record of only

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103 F, 339.

104 IJ, 123.

105 F, 421; L, 81; Collet, Map of North Carolina; J. E. Buck, Map of Warren, Vance, Franklin and Granville.

106 F, 412; H, 71.

107 K, 237.

108 L, 81.

109 B, 403.

three merchants who worked in Granville before the formation of Bute;[110] hence the story of early merchandising has been confined to that section of colonial Granville now known as Vance and Granville counties.

Merchants experienced difficulty in getting their goods into the County; there was no other way than to use wagons and the miserable roads of the times. Six horses were required to pull the loads, and evidently the waggoners who drove had lonely and somewhat dangerous roads to travel for they usually possessed two guns.[111] Frequently a waggoner had one wagon and twelve horses,[112] which enabled him to rest one team of horses occasionally. The Scottish copartnership of Alston Young and Company evidently lost nothing from their waggoners, because they held mortgages on their land, wagons, and teams. The most frequently mentioned towns used by the colonial citizens were Halifax and Petersburg; consequently the waggoners hauled goods from those places into Granville. It is not so likely, however, that Granville's trade with Halifax was as important as that with Virginia towns, because the greatest part of her products and imports were obliged to come through Virginia in

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110 C, 592; E, 59.

111 IJ, 411; 414.

112 Ibid., 411.

1755.[113] Later Halifax seemed slightly more important.

Some of the merchants were from Petersburg and other points in Virginia,[114] thus indicating that business was transacted in the market town of Petersburg, while others were from Halifax. During this period there were as many as forty-six merchandising firms who transacted business in Granville. From November, 1764 to August, 1767, alone, there were three hundred forty nine old and new suits instituted for debts due different merchandising firms operating in Granville County.[116] This fact in itself indicates that there was a huge merchandising business in the County; for there must have been more customers who paid for goods than there were customers who were sued for non-payment. There are practically no indications that the colonial merchants failed in business. Aside from the above proof of flourishing business, if not stable trading, there was a vast amount of property which constantly fell into the merchant's hands, but which was immediately sold to some one else.[117]

One serious drawback to the business life of the County was the absence of a uniform standard of currency. Such a

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113 Petition to the Board of Trade, C.R., V, 322.

114 D, 384; F, 545; IJ, 286.

115 IJ, 286; E, 64.

116 Granville County Trial Docket, (1764-1767), passim.

117 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

condition in a new agricultural community often causes trade to be carried on by barter, but apparently there was little of that done in Granville so far as the purchase of land was concerned. Some form of money was used in all the registered land purchases from 1746 to 1776.[118] From 1746 to 1751 no form of legal tender was used except Virginia money for purchasing land. The first proclamation money came to light in 1752; thereafter it was used only three times until 1759, when fifteen per cent of the money used in buying land was proclamation money. In the vast number of land sales during 1760 proclamation money was used only ten times. Nor was it used to any extent until 1765. From that time on its use gradually increased until 1770, when proclamation money constituted about forty per cent of the legal tender used for land purchases; the proportion remained the same throughout the period. Virginia money continued to be the favorite, though apparently there was nothing else to use for the first five years of the County's existence. Perhaps Granville's proximity to Virginia and the fact that many Virginians were constantly coming into Granville to buy land with Virginia money[119] increased the circulation of Virginia money in Granville.

Other types of money occasionally crept into circulation

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118 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

119 Ibid., A - L.

but they were the exception rather than the rule. Quite often English money or the pound sterling was used.[120] Not more than four per cent of the money in circulation was English money. Occasionally a Spanish coin, the pistole, fell into some settler's hands and was used in the purchase of land.[121] The pistole, being a name for any of a group of obsolete coins, had no exact value, but was evidently freely accepted in trades. It is possible that it was weighed and the value carefully estimated, because frequently people with large farms or other businesses had money scales for that purpose, and one rather wealthy planter of the time was known to possess two.[122] These scales were also used in estimating gold and silver which were accepted freely in lieu of legal tender.[123] Public bills of credit of the Province were also used in Granville.[124] According to the Granville quit rent requirements, the ratio between proclamation money and English money until 1755 was one to three,[125] but from that date

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120 H, 511; Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

121 B, 435.

122 "Inventory of Thomas Lowe's Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 78.

123 F, 351.

124 Letter from Judge Richard Henderson to the Governor, C.R., VIII, 539.

125 C, 315, 366.

until the closing of his office, there was no alternative in the type of currency that could be used in paying quit rents. The fees were then required to be in sterling. In all probability the value of proclamation money was not so great as one to three in comparison with English money when Lord Granville's requirements were changed. In case they were of the same ratio at the time of the change, the substitution of a higher quit rent and a different type of money would surely have helped to lower the value of proclamation money. Virginia money was also much more stable in value than proclamation money, as was indicated by its greater frequency in circulation. Virginia money was accepted in 1770, "or in lieu thereof proclamation money at thirty three and one third per cent." In 1770, then, Virginia money had the same face value that English money had had in 1755, though the two would not necessarily have a similar comparison in 1770. More than likely they would not, because Granville's quit rent requirement of sterling made it scarce and for years it was more or less accidental when a native of Granville came into possession of English money. Virginia money, then, was the regular stabilized currency of the County.[126]

There were in circulation in colonial Granville seven

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126 IJ, 174.

different types of money including unminted gold and silver, Virginia money, Spanish pistoles, English money, proclamation money, and public bills of credit for North Carolina. This situation undoubtedly led to confusion and helped the Scottish merchants to gain much property from the people who as a rule must have been untrained in estimating values in the different forms of money.

No doubt so many types of money did cause the government much concern with respect to counterfeiters. In 1766 a bill was introduced into the Assembly for the suppression and punishment of counterfeiters of the paper currency of North Carolina and Virginia.[127] Five years later a colony-wide trouble had come to a head in Granville when various persons had been charged with making and passing counterfeit proclamation money and public bills of credit. Two men were scheduled to appear for trial at Hillsborough during the Regulator scare which caused the postponement of the court. In the meantime the Granville Justices examined witnesses and declared them guilty. It was such a serious matter that one of the Justices of the Crown thought that a special court was needed to convene in Oxford in order that the offenders might not elude justice.[128] Added to its different types of

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127 House Journals, C.R., VII, 301.

128 Letter from Judge Richard Henderson to the Governor, C.R., VIII, 539.

money, Granville also had to contend with counterfeit money, and no doubt, the currency question was a serious drawback to Granville's economic development.

Now and then among the farmers and merchants there appeared men of other trades. As is to be expected, a county open to settlement attracts more farmers than it does persons following other occupations, but as is also to be expected, there were a number of carpenters who were necessary where so much building had to be done. Apparently carpenters began taking up land[129] in the County as early as the farmers did. All the landholders who were designated as carpenters were settled by the end of the first half of the colonial period.[130] After seeing the tide of settlers going in the direction of Granville, it was only natural for the carpenters to follow where they would perhaps be needed more than any other type of workman. Closely allied to the business of the carpenter was the trade of the few joiners who came almost as early as their brother tradesmen. A number of saddlers also found their way into the County[131] where they could follow their trade with success, due to the fact that most of the traveling was done on horse back. Blacksmiths also

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129 A, 31.

130 Granville County Deed Books, A - L.

131 B, 463, 371, 107; C, 531, 324.

found territory for their trade just as the saddlers did.[132] There were also haberdashers,[133] tailors,[134] weavers,[135] bricklayers,[136] coopers,[137] wheelwrights,[138] and one silversmith.[139]

From the picturesque huntsman of Byrd's sarcastic wit to the busy haberdasher of the latter part of the colonial period lies a greater gap than is generally realized. In looking back 1746 often denotes the same industries and type of living that 1776 does. That, however, was not the case. In a much more rapid fashion than is commonly understood, the trapper in his lean-to was superseded by the farmer who industriously, though very laboriously, due to poor tools, began to build houses and clear and fence land. Gradually accumulating a supply of farming tools that included wagons, plows, saws, axes, hoes, and other necessary implements, the farmer forged on. His products, at first consisting of Indian corn

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132 A, 307; B, 237; D, 166; F, 172.

133 A, 296; B, 319, 413.

134 D, 80; F, 287.

135 C, 595; H, 184.

136 D, 17; IJ, 145.

137 E, 97.

138 B, 152.

139 IJ, 111.

and half wild hogs, came to be more numerous and his means of producing them more complicated. Orchards called for more expert care and brought about another small industry in the form of barrel making, which required skill on the part of the cooper. Then the high priced still and worm for distilling brandy required work and ingenuity on the planter's part. As tobacco production became important there was much more to learn. Cotton growing added very little to the farmer's work. Stock raising was very important, but poorly managed. Farming was really the one occupation for the inhabitant of colonial Granville.

In the stride of colonial progress the coming of the miller was of inestimable importance. He changed the very commonplace Indian corn from a mere sustenance to a decent food for man. Such a transformation of the staple crop was of unparalleled importance to the Granville people at that time. The tar burning business amounted to very little in Granville because it was too difficult to market the finished product. With the entry of the Scottish merchant one can be assured that the County had been prospering; they did not enter poor sections. The comings and goings of their waggoners hauled out Granville products, brought in manufactured products, and thus removed some of the drudgery of farm life by shifting the responsibility of making long trips to market. The merchant also livened business by furnishing competition not only in the sale of goods, but also in land

trades and bargains of every description. Perhaps the greatest blot on the general improvement of industry can be laid to a lack of a uniform system of currency. Faced with several types of money each having a different connotation, each of which varied with the fluctuation of the prices of commodities, the colonial citizen had to stay on the alert to be able to trade advantageously.

Present among the hunters, farmers, millers, tar burners, and merchants were the carpenters, joiners, coopers, bricklayers, saddlers, haberdashers, tailors, and the lone silversmith, each of whom was called on to contribute his part in transforming Granville County from the backwoods of William Byrd's description to the prosperous community of Governor Martin's delineation.

CHAPTER VI

Roads and Communication

It is no small wonder that agriculture and industries were developed to as great an extent in colonial Granville as they were; for there is no record that the North Carolina Assembly ever made one law concerning local Granville roads, or directed that one road leading through Granville be built.[1] Outlets for trade and marketing were left to county authorities who had been delegated by the Assembly in 1764 to lay out public roads. The power for constructing these roads was placed in the hands of the Inferior Courts in 1756.[2] Soon after the Inferior Courts gained that power, Granville was lessened in area to half its former size by the formation

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1 Colonial Records are filled with references to the building of specific roads in other counties.

2 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 449.

of Bute County.[3] This belated attempt to have the Inferior Courts attend to the various county roadways was obviously the first serious effort on the part of the provincial or local governments to look after the roads of the County. Before that time, it is evident that the roads had originated from Indian trails, buffalo paths,[4] and trading paths. Their improvement came from the steady use which the people were obliged to give them.

Such a road, bearing the name of the Indian Trading Path, the earliest known Granville road, was in existence as an assured fact for eighteen years before the formation of the County as a political entity, and there is no doubt that it had been in use for many years prior to 1728.[5] Leading from the vicinity of Norfolk, the Trading Path entered Granville County where the Virginia line crosses the Roanoke River between Six Pound and Hawtree creeks in what is now Warren County.[6] It continued in a southwesterly direction[7] across the County over Nutbush Creek,[8] Tar

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3 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 625.

4 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 166.

5 Ibid., 298.

6 Henry Mouzon, An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina.

7 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 298.

8 G, 323.

River,[9] Picture Branch,[10] and Knap of Reeds Creek.[11] The Trading Path made such an impression on the County that, though its name be forgotten, its effects are still felt by the people. Various stretches of modern roadway follow the route of the old path, particularly the former Oxford and Durham highway from Knap of Reeds to Oxford. A short distance over the Granville County line in Durham County, the trail of the old Trading Path is very plainly visible today.[12] William Byrd, famous for the history of the North Carolina-Virginia dividing line which touched fifty miles of northern colonial Granville,[13] has left a very detailed account of the Trading Path.[14]

> "About three Miles from our Camp we passed GREAT CREEK, and then, after traversing very barren grounds for 5 Miles together, we crost the Tradeing Path, and soon after had the pleasure of reaching the uppermost Inhabitant. This was a Plantation belonging to colonel Mumford, where our Men almost burst themselves with Potatoes and Milk. Yet as great a Curiosity as a House

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9 H, 74.

10 IJ, 20.

11 C, 304.

12 The Path is very plain on Mrs. Belle Cameron's farm at Stagsville.

13 Collet, Map of North Carolina; J. E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin, and Granville.

14 W. K. Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line Histories, 298.

was to us Foresters, still we chose to lie in the Tent, as being much the cleaner and sweeter Lodging.

"The Tradeing Path above-mention'd receives its Name from being the Route the Traders take with their Caravans, when they go to traffick with the Catawbas and other Southern Indians. The Catawbas live about 250 Miles beyond Roanoke River, and yet our Traders find their Account in transporting Goods from Virginia to trade with them at their own Towne.

"The Common Method of carrying on this Indian Commerce is as follows: Gentlemen send for Goods proper for such a Trade from England, and then either Venture them out at their own Risk to the Indian Towns, or else credit some Traders with them of Substance and Reputation, to be paid in Skins at a certain Price agreed betwixt them.

"The Goods for the Indian Trade consist chiefly in Guns, Powder, Shot, Hatchets, (which the Indians call Tomahawks,) Kettles, red & blue Planes, Duffields, Stroudwater blankets, and some Cutlary Wares, Brass Rings and other Trinkets.

"These Wares are made up into Packs and Carry'd upon Horses, each Load being from 150 to 200 Pounds, with which they are able to travel about 20 Miles a day, if Forage happen to be plentiful.

"Formerly a Hundred Horses have been employ'd in one of these Indian Caravans, under the Conduct of 15 or 16 Persons only, but now the Trade is much impair'd, insomuch that they seldom go with half that Number.

"The Course from Roanoke to the Catawbas is laid down nearest Southwest, and lies thro' a fine Country, that is Water'd by Several beautiful Rivers.

"Those of the greatest Note are, first, Tar river, which is the upper Part of Pamtico, Flat river, Little river and Eno river, all three Branches of Neuse."

The influence of the Trading Path on the life of Granville was inestimable; the settlement of the County must have been greatly hastened by the effects of its presence. Land-hungry Virginia traders, traversing the length of the County over and over, came to know the value of the soil which was then supporting a heavy growth of primeval forest. William Byrd himself, though probably never passing over the direct route of the Trading Path in Granville, repeated the common opinion of the times that it lay "thro' a fine Country that is Water'd by Several beautiful Rivers." All the rivers that he mentioned lay either in Granville or very near it. With such advertising the soil of the County became famous in the eyes of the Virginians, and the inhabitants of Surry, Brunswick, Nansemond, and neighboring counties began to investigate the County, with the result that Granville was settled largely by Virginians.[15] This general exodus from Virginia to Granville was taking place at the time of Granville's formation and had been in existence for a number of years before.[16] Migration continued unabated until the Revolution.[17] Eventually

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15 Statistics from Granville County Deed Books, A - L. See also in the Appendix the list of Virginians who moved into Granville County.

16 A, 16.

17 L, 22.

Granville would perhaps have been settled by Virginians anyway, but the stories of fertile soil spread by the traders doubtless furnished the incentive and was the impetus for the very first of the trekking into colonial Granville. The Trading Path, then, only wide enough for one pack horse and probably ~~originally~~ originating from a buffalo trail, was the predominating influence in the early settlement of Granville County.

With the single exception of the Trading Path, which was really not a road but a well beaten path, there is no mention of important roads in Granville County records very much earlier than 1761.[18] That being the case, it seems that the first elaborate law relating to roads, made by the Assembly at the time of Granville's beginning,[19] was ignored. In 1745 the law required the appointment of road commissioners who were to summon all males from sixteen to sixty to work the roads, under penalty of a five-pound fine. The taxables were to bring suitable tools and provisions with them as directed by the commissioner. Roads were to be worked only twice each year, beginning on Monday after Easter Monday and again on Monday after the first Monday in August. Slaves refusing to work were to be given twenty lashes with

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18 D, 420.

19 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 220-25.

a cowskin or a switch. This law, then, produced no roads in Granville, even though it was a law of the province one year before Granville's formation.

The next act in 1756 regulating road building did not affect the entire province, but was confined to Currituck, Pasquotank, Chowan, Bertie, Tyrrel, Edgecombe, Northampton, and Granville.[20] In a more businesslike manner new roads were to be laid out and old ones were to be declared public roads, or altered until they could be classified as public roads. The county court was to levy a tax on the inhabitants for bridge building materials and likewise was to appoint a jury of twelve freeholders who were to lay out the roads for the greatest convenience of the inhabitants and "as little as may be to the Prejudice of any Private Person." Any damages from altering roads were to be obtained from the taxables who did not report for duty. The miserable condition of the roads before 1756 may well be visualized from these requirements which were to be met after 1756: all roads new and old were to be twenty feet wide; stumps, brush, and trees had to be removed; limbs that might inconvenience horsemen were to be trimmed; small bridges and causeways were to be fourteen feet wide; and bridges over navigable streams were to be twelve feet wide and made of good sawed plank two

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20 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 449-50.

inches thick. No male taxables between sixteen and sixty could be exempted from road duties unless he was excused from muster duties or sent three slaves in his place. And finally the county court was to appoint a new overseer annually. Evidently these regulations produced effects; for four years later the names of a number of roads began to appear as landmarks in the description of tracts of Granville land. Usually the colonial system of managing roads is strongly condemned, but in this case there was only one law of the province that specifically touched on Granville County highways and since Granville was a neglected frontier county in the matter of roads, it seems possible that the county court seized its opportunity in an unusually zealous manner for that period. No doubt but that the application of the above mentioned regulations produced such roads as the Hico and Main.

Certainly of a more ambitious type of road than the Trading Path was the Hico Road which seems to have been laid off with a view of connecting the centers of population, while the Trading Path merely developed from Indian foot paths and animal trails. It was the most commonly traveled road running from east to west across Granville County.[21] The Hico Road's course lay through the County almost parallel with

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21 D, 420; E, 264; F, 284, 397; H, 139, 127, 146; IJ, 35, 105, 112, 155, 260; K, 37, 184, 233; L, 81, 196. Collet, Map of North Carolina.

the Virginia line,[22] and in most places about eleven or twelve miles from the state boundary line. As early as 1761 the Hico Road was a well established highway.[23] Entering the County somewhat to the north of Little Fishing Creek, now in Warren County, the road ran almost due north until it reached the vicinity of Macon, also in Warren County.[24] There it curved directly westward, running on the divide between the Roanoke and Tar tributaries. It crossed Nutbush Creek, and from there its course was directed toward the Hico River[25] from whence the road received its name. From the environs of Halifax westward toward Bethabara[26] it seems to have been the main artery of travel. During the period from 1761[27] until 1773[28] deeds for at least twenty-one tracts of land on the Hico River were registered among Granville County deeds. It was referred to with as much familiarity as the largest of the streams. Though probably not used quite

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22 Collet, Map of North Carolina.

23 D, 420.

24 Collet, Map of North Carolina; J. E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin, and Granville.

25 Collet, loc. cit.; J. E. Buck, loc. cit.

26 Collet, loc. cit.; J. E. Buck, loc. cit.

27 D, 420.

28 L, 81.

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so extensively as some of the roads which led to the Virginia markets, the Hico Road seems to have been one of the County's main highways in colonial days. The presence of such a road and the fact that it was well known gives a strong basis for the assumption that it was perhaps the main route used by the people of the back country in transacting business with the Earl of Granville's land office or any other affairs which called them to the government centers in the eastern part of the colony. It was certainly the main thoroughfare running from east to west in the Granville District.[29]

Vying with the Hico Road in importance was the highway known as the Main Road,[30] which led from Hillsboro east across Little and Flat rivers in the eastern part of Durham County to Knap of Reed's Creek in Granville. It entered Granville near the present village of Knap of Reeds and followed a slightly northeastern course over Tar River and the headwaters of Fishing Creek near which it crossed the Hico Road in the vicinity of Williamsboro in Vance County. Pursuing the same course toward Virginia, the Main Road branched between Island and Nutbush creeks about four miles north of the Hico Road. The western branch led to Royster's Ferry over the Roanoke, while the other led to Taylor's Ferry over the same river.

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29 Collet, Map of North Carolina. See Frontispiece.

30 IJ, 274.

North of the Roanoke the two branches united and moved in the general direction of Petersburg.[31] The present road leading from Williamsboro in Vance County through Townsville toward Virginia seems to follow the route of the old Main Road of colonial days. No doubt it was used extensively for communication between Hillsboro and Virginia, as well as a route to market for the inhabitants of western Granville. In 1772 the rates of ferriage at Taylor's Ferry, paid by Granville inhabitants on tobacco, amounted to one pound seven shillings and six pence for eleven hogsheads.[32] Thus, we see that the Main Road whereon Taylor's Ferry was located, was used for carrying goods to market at Petersburg, because the road led there.[33]

Among the roads frequently mentioned in Granville records was the Corbintown old Road. From 1763[34] until 1771[35] the road was referred to as an old road. Since Hillsboro was

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31 Collet, Map of North Carolina.

32 Granville County Record Book, I, 19. (In the office of the Clerk of Superior Court, Oxford, N. C.) This amount was paid from Philip Taylor's estate. The Taylor family lived in the vicinity of Taylor's Ferry, which is conclusive proof that the ferry used was the one on the easternmost branch of the Main Road.)

33 Collet, Map of North Carolina.

34 F, 329.

35 IJ, 133.

called Corbin Town in the early days,[36] it is evident that the Main Road was constructed to care for the travel from Hillsboro eastward. Corbin Town or Corbinton[37] possibly gave its name to a very early road which must have run somewhat near the course of the old Trading Path, because the Corbin Town old Road led from Tar River through the vicinity of Oxford and through Harrisburg just as the Trading Path did.[38] In Harrisburg, which was situated west of Fishing Creek, and not more than one mile east of the present site of Oxford,[39] the Corbin Town old Road intersected Shearman's Road. It is impossible to give the location of either of these roads throughout the County, due to the fact that they do not appear on any maps of colonial North Carolina. The Court House Road, which led from Harrisburg to the Court House,[40] apparently was a short roadway running parallel with Fishing Creek on the west side of the stream. In the proximity of Oxford, falling into the same category of roads whose exact locations cannot be found, comes the Tar River Road which led west from Oxford toward Tar River, as its name indicates.[41] It is almost

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36 Deposition, C.R., VII, 779.

37 Letter from H. E. McCulloh to Edmund Fanning, C.R., VII, 33.

38 F, 329.

39 Collet, Map of North Carolina.

40 IJ, 23.

41 F, 324.

a certainty, however, that the Tar River Road coincided with the present road that leads westward from Oxford over Hatches Run to Tar River. The earliest mention made of these roads was in 1763 when the Tar River Road,[42] the Shearman Road, and the Corbin Town old Road[43] were used in describing tracts of Granville County land. Therefore, the means of communication in the western part of the County seem not to have been well developed before the last half of the colonial period. However, from the fact that the roads were mentioned as being well established landmarks in 1763, it may be safely assumed that they were in existence somewhat earlier.

Probably in the western part of present day Warren County where the Bute County Court House was later located, five roads formed a junction. These roads radiated from their convergence in such a way that they reached a great deal of the eastern section of colonial Granville.[44] There is no way to ascertain the exact names of these roads, but on the other hand, there are names of roads in the same locality which cannot be located. One road frequently referred to during the colonial period was the Old Court House Road; it lay on both sides of Flat Creek, probably in the edge of Granville

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42 F, 324; H, 100.

43 F, 329.

44 Collet, Map of North Carolina.

and Vance, passing through the section surrounding Dexter in Granville County.[45] But the location of such roads as the Meeting House Road,[46] the Granville Road,[47] Jeffrey's Road,[48] Glover's Road,[49] Jefferson's Road,[50] Horse Shoe Road,[51] Taylor's Road,[52] and Shockoe Road[53] can only be conjectured. Some of them can be fairly well located in one place, but their extent and direction will still be unknown. Jeffrey's Road, of course, must have led from Osborn Jeffrey's seat south of Tar River in the vicinity of Louisburg toward Virginia, while Jefferson's Road undoubtedly was the thoroughfare that ran northward over Smith's Creek to Cotton Ferry between Nutbush and Smith creeks. North of the Roanoke after crossing at Cotton Ferry was the estate of J. Jefferson.[54]

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45 H, 418; J. E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin, and Granville.

46 D, 366.

47 C, 41.

48 F, 253.

49 H, 86.

50 G, 313.

51 L, 11.

52 H, 376.

53 E, 393.

54 Collet, Map of North Carolina.

The Jefferson Road led to Petersburg as two others did, one crossing the Roanoke near Hawtree Creek and another near Six Pound Creek. Consequently, there were four important roads leading from colonial Granville toward Petersburg, the Virginian market.[55]

In addition to the main roads there were numerous paths and cart, wagon, and private roads.[56] The Ridge Path was well known and apparently was a ramification of the Hico Road.[57] Leading from the Hico Road toward the Virginia line it passed on the western side of Hawtree Creek, almost in the creek bed itself until it crossed the Roanoke River from which it led toward Petersburg.[58] Near what was then called Lowground Creek, there was a path known as William's Path, which seems to have been well known to the Granville inhabitants.[59] In the vicinity of Great Fishing Creek was the Meeting House Path which, as its name suggests, was a path

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55 Collet, Map of North Carolina.

56 Another county road peculiarly named "Daugherty's lott" was well known to the people. According to Granville County Deed Book, F, 204, "Daugherty's lott" lay on the branches of Island and Flat creeks. From the number of deeds in which it was used as a boundary, the lott or road must have been quite commonly known and used. It was in existence as early as 1754.

57 H, 369; Collet, Map of North Carolina.

58 Collet, loc. cit.

59 F, 40; IJ, 5; H, 189.

to the Baptist Church.[60] Duke's Old Path,[61] Tarr River Path,[62] Hicks Road on Fox Creek,[63] Read's Waggon Road,[64] Young's Cart Path,[65] and numerous other paths and cart roads give an idea of the narrow roads that were not more than the width of the cart wheels and were possibly unfit for the use of any vehicle except a cart. There is but little doubt that even the best of these roads was practically impassible during the winter months.[66]

With this system of poor roads Granville inhabitants were forced to carry on business, visit, and communicate in all ways. From necessity practically all of the travel was done on horseback. Messages were sent express by horseback riders.[67] Charges for carrying messages seem to have been rather high when compared with the prices of general commodities. As an example of the expense of sending messages,

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60 E, 347; E, 358; H, 189.

61 E, 45.

62 Ibid., 384.

63 H, 502.

64 G, 261.

65 F, 261.

66 E, 71. (On January 24, 1762, two ladies were unable to travel to the Court House to sign deeds by which their husbands had transferred land to each other. On that particular date the roads were probably at their worst during the winter season.)

67 McAden's Journal, C.R., V, 1204-05.

a charge of six shillings and three pence was made for a trip from Oxford to the vicinity of Henderson, which was a distance of approximately fifteen miles.[68] Several years earlier, in 1759, a post rider charged nine pounds and five shillings for a two hundred-mile trip which included a ride through Granville.[69] From Hillsboro to Judge Henderson's, where approximately all the journey lay over the Main Road, the charges were two pounds and five shillings for, perhaps, forty-five miles.[70] The cost of sending a message two hundred miles was practically equivalent to the charges for teaching three boys for one year, or to one-fourth the cost of a wagon and harness, while similar charges for a forty-mile trip were slightly more than the cost of building a tobacco barn.[71] Such charges made communication very difficult and prohibited it to practically all the people. The high rate for sending messages shows that travel over colonial Granville was no easy task.

Proof of the hardships involved in getting to market is found in a petition appearing before the Assembly in 1751 "... from the Inhabitants of Granville County, setting forth several hardships they lie under in carrying Tobacco to the

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68 Granville County Record Book, I, 67.

69 House Journals, C.R., VI, 157.

70 Disbursements Made on Account of the Publick by His Excellency Governor Tryon's Orders, S.R., XXII, 495.

71 See "Prices of Various Articles and Commodities in Colonial Granville" in the Appendix.

[illegible] of Indiana Territory [illegible] Connersville in
Connersville" in the Appendix.

Warehouses in the said County in discharge of their County and Parish Levies, praying relief etc."[72] Communication and business were not the only hardships; visiting was a great task also. The host would sometimes ride as far as fifteen miles to meet a guest so that he could be guided safely over the roads.[73]

In 1772 when Adam Boyd, Editor of the Cape Fear Mercury, was trying to get subscriptions for his paper among Granville County inhabitants, he asked his agent in Granville to send a list of subscribers to him by the middle of the following month, which date would have allowed the Granville agent a month to get the letter to Hillsboro. It is hardly probable, though, that sending a letter from Granville to Hillsboro was uncertain, because there was a regular express established between Hillsboro and Halifax by way of Harrisburg. Thus, the express passed through the County from east to west.[74] Doubtless the difficulty in obtaining the list of subscribers lay in the poor means of travel in Granville. According to Adam Boyd the expense of sending the Cape Fear Mercury from Hillsboro to Harrisburg by express was slight, but it was to be

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72 House Journals, C.R., IV, 1276.

73 Letter to Richard Bennehan, C.R., IX, 328.

74 Letter from Adam Boyd to the Agent for the Cape Fear Mercury in Granville County, C.R., IX, 356.

paid by the subscribers.[75] From the schemes and trips that were necessary, it must have been a very difficult undertaking to circulate the paper even between the most important towns.

Even though it appears that the provincial government made no attempt to build roads in Granville, there was vast improvement during the thirty years immediately following 1746. The road system routed on Collet's Map[76] of North Carolina, published in the latter part of the colonial period, was a far cry from the days of Samuel Henderson who was an early sheriff of Edgecombe County which then included Granville. On foot Henderson covered his entire bailiwick which had Enfield for its headquarters and reached from Virginia to Johnston County, and from the mountains to Northampton County. Such a vast territory had to be covered at least once a year in the collection of taxes.[77] There is little uncertainty as to Henderson's reasons for choosing to walk when canvassing his district; it was the only way by which the people could be reached. Thus, we can visualize a county with a few trails as a basis for the road system shown on Collet's Map.

Regardless of the fact that the Trading Path is usually considered as having passed its usefulness after trade with

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75 Letter from Adam Boyd to the Agent for the Cape Fear Mercury in Granville County, C.R., IX, 356.

76 See frontispiece.

77 Archibald Henderson, Star of Empire, (1919), 9.

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the Catawbas ceased, it really seems to have been valuable as a road as late as 1769.[78] Certainly the memory of it has lingered longer in the minds of the people than any other colonial road. With its office of advertising the climate and soil of Granville completed, the Trading Path's usefulness did not cease; it was the main road into Granville from southeastern Virginia which furnished the earliest settlers of the County and continued to send settlers until the Revolution. But the influential Trading Path was supported in time by a system of roads that reached many sections of the County. There were, however, some very isolated sections. Lying in the eastern part of the County on both sides of Great Fishing, Shocco, and Sandy creeks and as far west as Cotton Ferry, was a section which had no outlet.[79] The other isolated section lay south of a road which ran from the vicinity of Oxford to Vicksboro, in the edge of present day Warren and Vance, where the old Bute Court House was located.[80] Only two roads of any importance passed through Henry McCulloh's vast tract of land that lay on the Tar and its tributaries.[81]

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78 IJ, 20.

79 Collet, Map of North Carolina. See frontispiece.

80 J. E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin and Granville; Collet, loc. cit.

81 See frontispiece.

In view of the fact that Granville was a frontier county and that its entire territory lay in the Granville District, which was not regarded very favorably by colonial governors, the road system really was an achievemert. The fact that one newspaper could be circulated in the County[82] and that a very strenuous effort was put forth for the circulation of another[83] is authentic proof that the roads were, at least, during the latter part of the colonial period not impassable. The Hillsboro-Halifax express furnished communication from east to west, and several roads led north to Petersburg, the Virginia market. Therefore, colonial Granville was probably as fortunate in having means of communication as any other section of the Granville District during the same period.

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82 Advertisement in North Carolina Gazette, November 10, 1769. (In North Carolina Historical Commission Office.)

83 Letter to Agent for Cape Fear Mercury in Granville County, C.R., IX, 356.

CHAPTER VII

Social Life

Despite the fact that the inhabitants of colonial Granville County were considered very prosperous,[1] the rank and file of the people lived quite close to the soil. During the first part of the period they were not so prosperous as later.[2] The very names of their streams reveal that their thoughts, superstitions, and aims were simple and that they lived in close touch with their surroundings. References to "the Meanders of Holy Water Creek"[3] indicate that the stream was probably used for baptismal purposes.

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1 See Chapter V.

2 See Chapter V.

3 F, 45.

Rattlesnake Creek[4] and Bareskin Branch[5] are names that show the settlers' dread of fierce animals while Turkey[6] and Hare[7] branches had more pleasant connotations. Parsimmon Branch[8] Big Lick Branch,[9] Watery Branch,[10] Quick Sand Creek,[11] White Dirt Branch,[12] Folly,[13] and Butcher's[14] branches all reveal the nature of colonial occupations or give an insight into the type of soil in some particular locality, but the man who named "Dream of King's Sick Branch"[15] divulged his own superstitious nature.

There were, however, occasions that drew the isolated settlers from their surroundings, and furnished opportunities for social contact. Election days provided the greatest

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4 E, 240.

5 Ibid., 299.

6 Ibid., 290.

7 B, 347.

8 L, 184.

9 F, 392.

10 Ibid., 416.

11 E, 376.

12 H, 196.

13 C, 440.

14 B, 150.

15 F, 370.

occasions for social contact, and they were closely seconded by the sessions of court. As early as 1760 when an election was held, such teeming crowds attended that it was impossible to carry on business properly.[16] The surest way to find a lost article was to attend a session of court; it was an excellent opportunity for advertisement.[17] Another chance for entertainment was found in the taverns which encouraged gambling until laws were introduced prohibiting all gambling except backgammon.[18] Evidently the gambling was rather excessive, for Samuel Benton from Granville County introduced the bill which later became a law for the province for suppressing gambling.[19] The church, which will be discussed later, was another means for furnishing opportunities for social life in colonial Granville.

There were a number of ordinaries or taverns in Granville. Perhaps the most popular ones were those in Williamsboro. Lanier's Ordinary,[20] there, was very nearly in the center of the County. For competition there was Coler's

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16 House Journals, C.R., VI, 405.

17 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 855.

18 Ibid., XXIII, 611.

19 House Journals, C.R., VI, 817.

20 H, 207.

Ordinary also in Williamsboro.[21] Burnt Ordinary was situated on the Hico Road a few miles east of Williamsboro and directly opposite a chapel.[22] North of Little Fishing Creek, also on the Hico Road, was the Parson Ordinary.[23] Tapley's Ordinary[24] lay just outside the County a little to the west, but it probably drew a considerable amount of patronage from Granville. There were laws as early as 1758 concerning the conduct of these taverns.[25] It was necessary to have a license before a person could operate an ordinary. The proprietors were required by law to provide wholesome food and clean lodgings for travelers. Likewise, they were to furnish a stable, corn, and such pasturage as the season required. Nor were tavern keepers to sell liquor on Sundays nor on the credit. Slaves and servants could not buy liquor when their masters or mistresses objected. Liquor could only be sold in small quantities. Late in 1766 the law was amended to allow the sale of a more generous portion of spirits.[26] Then tavern operators could retail wine, brandy, or rum in quantities not less than a quart.

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21 Collet, Map of North Carolina. See frontispiece.

22 Loc. cit.

23 Loc. cit.

24 Loc. cit.

25 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 492-93. (The greatest part of this discussion will be based on this act.)

26 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 726.

Ale, beer, and cider could be sold in any quantity, but none of these liquors were to be tippled or drunk in the tavern where they were sold. No doubt these taverns, especially the two in Williamsboro, received much patronage from travelers going between Hillsboro, Bethabara, Petersburg, and Halifax.

As the colonial period advanced, so did the manner of living in Granville. In 1756 Hugh McAden, a visiting minister, characterized the people living around Nutbush Creek as being "a cheerful people... and in a situation as might be expected with abundance of wealth and full leisure for enjoyment."[27] Governor Martin in 1772 stated that the manners and conditions of the people in Granville were superior to those of other sections of the state.[28] Among their possessions were many articles that indicate a gradual drawing away from the cruder pioneering days. Such luxuries as walnut tables, punch bowls, sugar tongs, inkstands, silver watches, and desks are not associated with backward communities that are struggling for mere sustenance.[29] When women bought silk mits, satin hats, Irish linen, sewing silk, and store shoes,[30] they had to know something of styles and fashions outside Granville County.

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27 W. H. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, 136.

28 Governor Martin to Secretary Hillsborough, C.R., IX, 349.

29 "Inventory of Thomas Lowe's Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 79.

30 "Executor's Account of Samuel Benton's Estate," Ibid., I, 77.

The possession of such household utilities as spice mortars, rugs,[31] teapots, earthen plates, and teakettles[32] indicates a better knowledge of housekeeping than is usually associated with a pioneering community that has been able to acquire little material riches.

In 1773 a citizen of Granville wrote to a friend in Newbern about an iron fence and some mahogany furniture.[33] He only wished to ascertain the price of the furniture, but he learned that no more was to be purchased in Newbern for any price, as only enough had been imported to satisfy the local Newbern market. A careful description of the iron fences was sent to the prospective Granville purchaser as follows:

> "The Gates (double) are Six Feet six Inches wide, three Feet each gate with a piece of three Inches fixed to the Gate posts to hang the Gates to, the Gate posts are Fourteen Inches Square, Seven Feet high above Ground with a Ball of Twenty Inches high on the top."

The writer then gave a brief description of some other person's fence and explained that the first one was more expensive, but urged his friend to get the more expensive type

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31 "Sale of John Banks' Estate,", Granville County Record Book, I, 116.

32 "Inventory of George Whitlock's Estate," Ibid., I, 63.

33 Letter from Isaac Edwards to Colonel John Williams, C.R., IX, 678-80.

because "the difference of the expense is abundantly compensated by the additional Beauty & elegance of the work." In the matters of household goods, clothes, furniture, and fancy lawn fences the Granville citizen sought for elegant articles which the high prices of the latter part of the colonial era permitted him to do. Of course, not all citizens could have so much, and there is proof that many houses were furnished with little more than the bare necessities.[34] However, none of the homes seem to have been completely barren and all these evidences point to industry and good methods of farming.

The production of such a civilization rested on the laboring class which was largely composed of slaves. From the following table showing the taxables of the County, the proportion of slaves to whites may be estimated correctly:

Year	Whites	Blacks	Total
1754	779	426	1205[35]
1756	835	470	1305[36]
1765	974	701	1675[37]

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34 Inventories of James McGehee's Estate and Thomas Bank's Estate, Granville County Record Book, I, 85.

35 A General List of Taxables, C.R., V, 320.

36 List of Militia and Taxables, Ibid., V, 603.

37 Ibid., VII, 145.

Year	Whites	Blacks	Total
1766	926	809	1735 [38]
1767	1022	906	1928 [39]

The Negro taxables consisted of both men and women with the exception of the year 1754, when there were two hundred sixty one males to seven hundred seventy nine white men, thus giving a Negro population of more than twenty-five per cent for 1754.

Assuming that the Negro taxables could be divided equally into males and females, the same table would read as follows:

Year	Whites	Blacks	Per Cent of Negroes in Population
1754	779	261	26%
1756	734	235	22%
1765	974	350	26%
1766	926	404	30%
1767	1022	453	31%

The slave population of Granville, however, showed a steady growth and by 1776, due to the more prosperous times, must have constituted well over one-third of the people.

Slavery was very common in Granville even before the

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38 A General List of Taxables, C.R., VII, 289.

39 Ibid., VII, 539.

County's formation. In 1743, William Eaton, who then lived in the section of Edgecombe which later became Granville, reported the possession of twenty-three slaves.[40] Throughout the deed books there are statements of mortgages wherein slaves are mentioned.[41] Practically all the recorded wills of the colonial period mentioned the possession of one to eight slaves.[42] The general information surrounding slavery in Granville is scanty for the colonial period. The price of an average slave ran around fifty pounds, varying usually as the age and sex of the slaves varied.[43] In 1773 and 1774 the labor of a male slave was valued at ten pounds per year.[44] Apparently there was some trouble arising from runaway slaves, but not to any marked extent.[45]

The number of free Negroes in Granville was evidently large, because they were influential in getting the members of the Assembly from Granville to introduce bills for their benefit. They were also able to get thirty-six white

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40 Council Journals, C.R., IV, 625.

41 Granville County Deed Books, A & L.

42 Granville County Record Book, I, passim.

43 "Sale of Dorcas Sims' Estate," Ibid., I, 60; "Sale of Thomas Lowe's Estate," Ibid., I, 89.

44 "Guardian's Account," Ibid., I, 23.

45 "Grant of Power of Attorney," Ibid., I, 102.

freeholders of Granville to sign a petition in their behalf. Some of the petitioners were officeholders of prominence in the County.[46]

Ordinarily a tythable was a white man over eighteen years who was capable of bearing arms,[47] but the Assembly discriminated against free Negroes as a class in 1723,[48] when all twelve year old mulattoes, mustees, and free Negroes were adjudged tythables and became subject to yearly levies and taxes. The law was strictly enforced, because a vigorous complaint was made in 1755 against having to pay for so many tythables in each family.[49] The Assembly avowed that their petition was reasonable and appointed a committee to revise the law by inserting a clause which would bring relief to the free Negroes.[50] However, eight years later nothing had been done about the matter and the Negroes sent in an elaborate petition signed by a number of prominent Granville citizens. There is no evidence that their petition ever received any serious consideration and the Granville free Negroes continued to pay

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46 Petition of Granville and Edgecombe Inhabitants, C.R., VI, 982.

47 Mr. Woodmason's Account of North Carolina Made in 1766, C.R., VII, 283.

48 Petition of Granville and Edgecombe Inhabitants, C.R., VI, 982.

49 Petition of Sundry Inhabitants, C.R., V, 295.

50 Ibid., V, 295.

yearly levies and taxes for all members of their families over twelve years of age.[51]

In 1774 the free Negro was further discriminated against when slaves were prohibited from cultivating any tobacco in Granville under a penalty of five pounds proclamation money to be recovered from the master or overseer of the slaves.[52] Evidently this law was intended to lessen the number of free Negroes because it eliminated a slave's opportunity to make money for purchasing his freedom.

Legally the status of the free Negro was very low, but in other ways his condition was surprisingly different from present day conceptions. Before 1763 they were allowed to hold land in the County and one free Negro planter, Philip Chaverse (Chavis) sold three hundred acres of land on the north side of Tar River at the mouth of Collins Creek for one hundred seventy five pounds of Virginia money.[53] Free Negro men intermarried freely with white women.[54] Likewise mulattoes intermarried with white women and their status seems to have been similar to that of the free Negro. In

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51 Petition of Sundry Inhabitants, C.R., VI, 982.

52 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 952.

53 G, 209.

54 Petitions of Sundry Inhabitants, C.R., V, 295; VI, 982.

1774 the Granville representative in the Assembly presented a petition from sundry inhabitants of his county asking that a law be passed to prevent Negroes from trading with white people.[55] More than likely it was aimed against the free Negro. There were, then, considerable numbers of free Negroes in Granville, and they held land and appeared to have some influence, but were discriminated against by laws of the province to such an extent that they claimed to be greatly impoverished.

Another question of public concern in colonial Granville was that of stolen and strayed horses, but more particularly of stolen horses. By an act of 1766[56] any person who found a lost horse, was required to lead him before the county ranger, who was appointed by the governor. There he was to swear that the horse was found on his own land. The ranger then took down details of the horse's description and the finder's home. Then the owner of the horse was to pay the finder ten shillings if he claimed the animal within twelve months, otherwise the finder could keep the horse. This law did not appear to function so well,[57] because in 1769 an additional special bill was introduced into the Assembly to prevent

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55 House Journals, C.R., IX, 939.

56 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 777.

57 House Journals, C.R., VIII, 100.

such abuses as taking up and secreting stray horses in Granville. Five years later the same act for preventing such abuses was introduced again.[58] During that period two advertisements appeared in the North Carolina Gazette, offering rewards for horses stolen or strayed from Granville County. One theft in addition to the horse included a smoth bore gun, and a reward of twelve pounds was offered for the apprehension of the thief who was an Irishman going toward New River.[59]

Such social questions as the proper conduct of ordinaries, the question of free Negroes and the problem of stolen horses were matters that could be somewhat regulated by the government, but, in Granville, the government could not adjust the matter of the church. Religious life in Granville County was nurtured by three denominations; the Church of England, Presbyterian, and Baptist. Very likely the Established Church came first, since they were strongly entrenched when the county government was formed,[60] though it is possible that the other denominations were also present at the County's official beginning. Granville was divided into two parishes,

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58 House Journals, C.R., IX, 1842.

59 North Carolina Gazette, November 10, 1769. (Photostat copy in North Carolina Historical Commission Office, Raleigh, N. C.).

60 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecombe" in Appendix. Letter from Reverend Mr. McCartney to the Sec. C.R., VIII, 85-86.

St. John's[61] and Granville[62] before any churches were built. This was, however, a mere matter of form because the officials did not even know the limits of the parishes twelve years after their establishment.[63] Though mentioned as Granville Parish in 1749,[64] Clement Hall, a minister stationed at Edenton in the same year went westward on a long journey to Granville County and rode three hundred miles, but preached only seven sermons. No baptisms were made except those of women and children, which fact caused the Reverend Mr. Hall to declare that the national church was neglected and despised by too many.[65] Clement Hall's visit was possibly the first to be made into Granville by a minister of the Established Church.

St. John's Parish, which included Granville Parish in 1746 had for its first vestrymen William Eaton, William Person, John Martin, Edward Jones, James Mitchell, James Paine, West Harris, John Wade, William Moore, Samuel Lanier, Robert Parker, and Joseph Sims who were ordered to meet at William Eaton's home and proceed to Parish business.[66] This business

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61 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecombe" in Appendix.

62 A, 175, 236, 189.

63 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 547.

64 Ibid., XXIII, 547.

65 Letter from Reverend Mr. Clement Hall to the Sec., C.R., IV, 924.

66 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecomb" in the Appendix.

included levying a Parish tax and making plans for building a chapel. St. John's Church, which is said to have been built by 1754, was erected at Williamsboro on the road which led to Petersburg. The church was a roomy structure about seventy by forty feet.[67] Since there appeared to have been no regular clergyman stationed there until 1769,[68] it must have been used by visiting clergymen. In addition to St. John's Church the vestrymen of St. John's Parish undertook to build another chapel in 1755 called Trinity Church. The land for this church was given by Benjamin Ward.[69] There is no trace as to its actual or proposed location, but very likely it was built on the Hico Road in the southeastern corner of what is now Person County.[70]

In 1758 it was decided that St. John's Parish, which included all of colonial Granville, was too large for a minister to perform his duty properly. Accordingly it was divided into two parishes by a line which ran from the eastern side of Nutbush Creek to Horse Creek on the Johnston County line.[71] St. John's Church thus fell within Granville

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67 Charlotte Perkinson, "Oldest Episcopal Church of Diocese Still in Service," Raleigh News and Observer, April 14, 1929. (St. John's Church was built of wood and is now in an excellent state of preservation.)

68 Letter from Gov. Tryon to Lord Bishop of London, C.R., VIII, 45.

69 B, 533.

70 Collet, Map of North Carolina, See frontispiece.

71 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 497, 547.

Parish. The new vestry for Granville Parish was composed of Robert Harris, Richard Henderson, Reuben Searcy, Henry Howard, Richard Harris Jr., James Mitchell, Andrew Hampton, Thomas Lowe, Evan Ragland, William Burford, Darwin Elwick, and Sherwood Harris. The business of St. John's Parish was left in the hands of William Eaton, William Person, Charles Johnston, William Johnston, Philemon Hawkins, Gideon Macon, Osborn Jeffries, Sodowick Alford, John Pope, William Massey, Daniel Harris, and John Hawkins.[72]

The wardens for St. John's Church in 1759 purchased four hundred acres of glebe land from Robert Harris on Tabbs Creek.[73] This glebe land was not only for St. John's Church but for Granville Parish also. Evidently there was a possibility of getting a clergyman or the glebe land would not have been purchased.

By 1760 the vestrymen of St. John's Parish had built or started another church called St. Michael's Chapel,[74] perhaps located in the eastern part of the Parish.[75] By 1763 the Granville Parish vestrymen had also completed or had begun another church called St. George's Chapel which was

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72 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 497.

73 C, 608.

74 D, 94.

75 Collet, Map of North Carolina. See frontispiece.

located in the town of Oxford or very near it on the west side of Fishing Creek.[76] Therefore, there were by 1763 two parishes in Granville County: St. John's and Granville. There were four, either completed or unfinished, churches: St. John's, St. Michaels, St. George's, and Trinity. The location of St. George's Chapel is fairly definite and St. John's was located in Williamsboro, while the other two were either not completed or not started and their location is not known. In 1764, the following year, St. John's Parish was changed into Bute County.[77]

There were numerous plots and schemes before a regular clergyman was secured for either parish. In the regular return of taxables for Granville County in 1766 there were a total of one thousand seven hundred thirty five taxables reported.[78] In the same year, however, Granville County, which at that time included only Granville Parish, was endowed with a hundred pounds per year for an incumbent. This charge was made on the public treasury and not under the patronage of the Lord Bishop. In another report of taxables which caused Granville to become endowed as a parish, the number of taxables was given as two thousand eight hundred eighty two.[79]

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76 F, 402.

77 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 622.

78 Return of Lists of Taxables, C.R., VII, 289.

79 Ibid., VII, 283.

There was, thus, quite a discrepancy, and the difference in the two reports for the same year[80] was evidently intentional so that Granville could share in the fund from the public treasury. In 1767 Granville Parish and County was reported as having one thousand and twenty two taxables and able and willing to support a minister.[81] At the same time St. John's Parish of Bute had not been established,[82] but Granville Parish received its minister, the Reverend James McCartney, in June, 1769.[83] His appointment was not strictly legal because he had a license which was for another colony, but Governor Tryon inducted him into services in Granville. Tryon's excuse was that the vestries in Virginia had no scruples about enticing clergymen from North Carolina.[84] Therefore the first minister of the Established Church in Granville County was secured under difficulties and perhaps not strictly according to law. McCartney was cordially received by the people of Granville, though he was not well pleased with the station. From June 1 to October 28 he baptized two hundred twenty one whites and seventy-nine blacks

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80 Return of Lists of Taxables, C.R., VII, 283, 289.

81 Return of Names of Counties and Parishes, C.R., VII, 540.

82 Present State of Ministers of Church of England in N. C., C.R., VII, 457.

83 Letter from Reverend Mr. McCartney to Secretary, Ibid., VIII, 85-86.

84 Letter from Governor Tryon to Bishop of London, Ibid., VIII, 45.

[illegible] Lists of Tax-Lists," [illegible], VII, 651, note.

[illegible] of Names of Counties and Parishes," [illegible], VII, 652.

[illegible] Short Note on Existence of Copies of Records in [illegible], VII, 653.

in the parish. He seemed to tolerate the Presbyterians who were settled in Granville with their minister, but did not approve of the Baptists. It was McCartney's sincere desire to abolish all such dissensions and make converts for the Church of England.[85] In 1770 he was still stationed in Granville[86] and in 1772 was still officiating.[87]

The attitude of the people of Granville toward the formation of two parishes, the erection of four churches, and the employment of a minister of the Established Church is another story and does not develop so smoothly as the officials' plans did. Petitions concerning the parish expenses were presented to the Assembly on November 27, 1771, and again on March 13, 1772.[88] The first petition stated that the parish vestrymen had contracted with workmen to build two churches and that their taxes for supporting the regular government were heavy and burdensome. Therefore the vestrymen had not duly considered their circumstances when they planned to assess them with other heavy taxes in order that the two churches might be built. Then the petition

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85 Letter from Reverend McCartney to Sec., C.R., VIII, 85-86.

86 List of Clergy in North Carolina, Ibid., VIII, 222.

87 "Administrator's Account of Jonathan White's Estate," Granville County Record Bcodk, I, 64. (In 1772 he preached Jonathan White's funeral sermon and was paid two pounds for the service.)

88 Petitions of the Inhabitants of Granville County, C.R., IX, 95-97, 146.

begged that the workmen might be discharged from their engagement.[89] A bill was prepared by Thomas Person[90] which would release the Granville inhabitants from the parish taxes, but it was rejected the first time it was read.[91] The next petition stated that the people were suffering from heavy taxes for the regular government and for the expenses of the expedition against the Regulators. The people were willing to pay these taxes, but they thought the vestrymen had been unwise to add more taxes at such a time. The cost of the two new churches would be twelve hundred pounds. Based on the last tax return of one thousand and twenty two taxables,[92] the individual assessment would have been more than a pound each. The people were not in condition to pay the assessment then, and the workmen who had contracted to build the church were willing to release the vestrymen from the contract for a small sum. This feeling against building the two churches was widespread because one hundred thirteen people signed the petition.[93]

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89 Petition of the Inhabitants of Granville County, C.R., IX, 146.

90 Ibid., IX, 146.

91 House Journals, C.R , IX, 115.

92 Return of the Name of Counties and Parishes, C.R., VII, 540.

93 From Manuscript Records in Office of Secretary of State, C.R., IX, 95-97.

Evidently the churches had been started, but were unfinished because St. George's Chapel was not complete in 1769.[94] More than likely none of them except St. John's was ever completed, for all traces of the three have been lost. The story of the Church of England in colonial Granville is a story of extravagant plans and scant accomplishments. Perhaps there was more truth in Woodmason's account of North Carolina churches than was apparent when he stated that a church was started at Brunswick in 1753 and another in Wilmington, but in 1756 the walls of each were only about ten or twelve feet high and so remained and that there were only two or three itinerant ministers in the Granville District.[95]

A sketch of the Baptist and Presbyterian churches will help to explain the lack of success of the Established Church. The Presbyterians began to settle in the regions of Granville before the County was formed, and even before land was surveyed, in the days of free land.[96] It was due to their influence that the Reverend Hugh McAden made a visit to Granville and preached in several places, including Baptist churches.[97]

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94 "Executor's Account of Samuel Benton's Estate," Granville County Record Book, I, 67.

95 Mr. Woodmason's Account of North Carolina from S. P. G. Records, C.R., VII, 285.

96 W. H. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, 79.

97 Ibid., 166.

Tradition says that William Tennant first held sacrament in Granville for the Presbyterians in an unoccupied house belonging to Howel Lewis about one and one half miles from where Grassy Creek Church stands. James Criswell, licensed by the Hanover Presbytery in 1765, organized the congregation. Criswell remained as pastor until practically the end of the colonial period, when he was succeeded by Henry Patillo who became a vital influence for thirty-five years during and after the Revolutionary War.[98] The organization of the Presbyterian congregation in 1765 coincided with the time of the deed which was given in 1767 for the Grassy Creek Presbyterian Church. James Pettegrew gave to the trustees, viz., Howel Lewis, Joseph Linsey, Robert Lewis, Chisley Daniel, and John Oliver, one acre of land "to be made use of as a place for the Publick Worship of God according of Protestants of the Presbyterian Denomination...forever."[99]

These Presbyterians brought their religion with them from Virginia, where North Carolina was regarded as a bed of heathenism much in need of teaching.[100] Doubtless many Presbyterians came into Granville County from Hanover County,

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98 The Churches in Orange and Granville, C.R., V, 1213-14.

99 H, 335.

100 Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740 - 1790, (1930), 88.

Virginia, for the purpose of teaching the settlers the ways of the Presbyterians. Thomas Grant of Granville County in 1773 bequeathed two acres of land on which the church stood to the Ground Squirrel Meeting House in Hanover County, Virginia. The gift was made, provided the Presbyterian congregation should keep a good genteel pailing around the graves of his relatives and provided the church continue to worship in the Presbyterian manner.[101] Thus the leading member of a Hanover Presbyterian congregation found his way into Granville. The Anglican minister stated that there were many Presbyterians in Granville Parish in 1769, and that there was a minister settled among them;[102] the minister to whom he had reference was James Creswell. Grassy Creek Church was organized under the directions of the Hanover Presbytery.[103] Therefore the Presbyterian Church of colonial Granville was very nearly moved bodily from Hanover County into the section around Grassy Creek. It seems quite likely that the influx of Presbyterians into Granville came as a result of the Presbyterian zeal for spreading their doctrines[104] especially since some

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101 "Thomas Grant's Will," Granville County Record Book, I, 60.

102 Letter from Reverend Mr. McCartney to the Sec., C.R., VIII, 85-86.

103 The Churches in Orange and Granville, C.R., V, 1214.

104 W. M. Gewehr, Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790, 88.

of the leaders in Hanover also acted as leaders in Granville.[105]

According to the Reverend James McAden and Reverend James McCartney, Presbyterian and Anglican ministers respectively, the Baptists were present in colonial Granville in greater numbers than any other denomination. In 1755 McAden found three established Baptist congregations. One was at Old Shearman's on Tar River, another at Grassy Creek, and a third at Fishing Creek,[106] which was in Bute County after 1764 when Bute was formed from Granville. Fourteen years later the Reverend James McCartney commented on the Granville Baptists being so numerous and called them great bigots.[107] No doubt their definite establishment for many years caused them to assume an independent attitude toward the Established Church.

The Reverend William Walker apparently was the main influence that accounted for the Baptists' strong establishment in Granville. He was baptized at Kehukee in 1746 and was ordained in 1748. He was successful in organizing a Baptist Congregation at Reedy Creek, situated in the northeastern corner of colonial Granville in 1750, and shortly afterward he began laboring on Fishing Creek where he established another congregation. From the Fishing Creek organization

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105 W. M. Gewehr, Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790, 14.

106 W. H. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, 166.

107 Letter from Reverend Mr. McCartney to Sec., C.R., VIII, 85-86.

sprang Grassy Creek Church which was organized by Walker in 1761.[108] The facts in two deeds for Baptist churches in colonial Granville substantiate Walker's importance in the organization of the Baptist Church. In 1760 a deed was made for two acres where the meeting house then stood "to Each and Every of the Male members of the Baptist Church now under the care of the Reverd Mr. William Walker minister."[109] A year later he had organized another congregation and a similar deed was made to each male member of the Baptist church under the Reverend Mr. Walker.[110]

It seems that a change of doctrine took place in the Granville Baptist churches due to the visit of two missionaries who were sent by the Philadelphia Association to reorganize the churches on the basis of the Philadelphia Confession of Faith. They first went to Grassy Creek where their new doctrines were enthusiastically accepted. The missionaries seem to have visited William Walker's church on Fishing Creek next where they were eventually successful.[111] Soon these different churches were organized into an Association

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108 J. D. Hufham, "The Baptists in North Carolina," North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers, I (1898-97), 227-28.

109 D, 318.

110 E, 358.

111 J. D. Hufham, op. cit., I, 36-37.

which met at Fishing Creek in 1771 then in Bute County, but when organized, in Granville. Here matters of doctrine were discussed and settled after the following manner:

> "Question: Suppose a number of Baptist members all of the female sex, should dwell at a distance from any other baptist Society, are they or are they not Justifiable in Meeting together to pray and edify each other in the things of god?
> Ans. They are Justifiable."[112]

It seems quite likely that some of the Granville Baptist churches belonged to the Sandy Creek Association and some to the Kehukee Association.[113]

Of the three religious denominations in Granville the Baptists were the only ones who rapidly developed a well organized association. The Presbyterians were settled chiefly in the northern part of the County where they had been for many years. There they had become prosperous and were well established. The presence of these two denominations prevented the Established Church from gaining any foothold among the people. Undoubtedly the Baptists and Presbyterians were responsible for the many petitions that went to the Assembly about the impossibility of paying the parish levies. After

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112 "Minutes of Kehuckey Association," James Sprunt Historical Monographs, Vol. I-VI, part 5, pp. 15-17.

113 J. D. Hufham, "The Baptists in North Carolina," North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers, I (1896-97), 211-13.

supporting five churches of their own, neither of them was interested in supporting another denomination.[114]

Education in the County was perhaps not so well developed as was religious life. There was no lack of school facilities in colonial Granville; several school masters lived in the County, and one of them, William Hornsby, was prosperous enough to purchase a fair sized tract of land.[115] Another teacher, Walker Daniel, in 1773 received about half as much for teaching three boys a year as a second hand still was worth,[116] while a year's board cost more than twice as much as a year's schooling.[117] Many people possessed paper and ink,[118] but books were more rare. One man mentioned a treatise on the Old Testament by Burkett as of equal importance with his riding horse and feather bed, when he made a will.[119] Histories[120] were used and a high value was set

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114 Dr. D. C. White told a story based on tradition that there was a Tory clergyman who had his surplice torn off by an angry mob at the beginning of the Revolution. He then became a Methodist and continued to preach in Granville.

115 IJ, 76.

116 Sale of Nicholas Holstein's Estate, Granville County Record Book, I, 92; Inventory of Philip Taylor's Estate, Ibid., I, 19.

117 Inventory of Philip Taylor's Estate, Ibid., I, 19.

118 Sales and Inventories, Granville County Record Book, I.

119 Samuel Goodwin's Will, Ibid., I, 103.

120 Sale of John Banks' Estate, Ibid., I, 116.

on geographies.[121] The greatest recorded number of books possessed by any one individual amounted to ten,[122] though possibly there were larger libraries, for occasionally some one owned a bookcase.[123] There were two school buildings in the northern part of the County; the first one was located between Nutbush and Spew Marrow creeks as early as 1753.[124] It was referred to as a very familiar landmark in 1771.[125] The other, on Little Island Creek, was mentioned in 1768.[126] These schools were within seven miles of one another,[127] and their presence bears out McAden's statement that the people of Granville had an abundance of wealth and full leisure for enjoyment.[128]

Both the North Carolina Gazette and the Cape Fear Mercury were in circulation in Granville.[129] The editor of the Cape

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121 See price of commodities in Appendix.

122 Henry White's Bill of Sale, Granville County Record Book, I, 99.

123 Sale of Thomas Lowe's Estate, Ibid., I, 89.

124 B, 299.

125 IJ, 220.

126 H, 535.

127 J. E. Buck, Map of Vance, Warren, Franklin and Granville.

128 W. H. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, 174.

129 Advertisement in North Carolina Gazette, Nov. 10, 1769. Letter from Editor, C.R., IX, 356.

Fear Mercury had two agents soliciting subscriptions in the County, and he evidently fully expected to secure many subscriptions, because he had all plans made for the paper's circulation.

Some general ideas of the literacy of Granville County may be gained from an examination of three thousand five hundred signatures[130] found on deeds and wills. Thirty two and four-tenths per cent of those colonial inhabitants were unable to sign their names. When the fact that there were no public schools is brought into consideration, it seems an indication of a very satisfactory condition to know that two-thirds of the people were literate. From the four hundred fifty three signatures of women there was a different result; sixty-four percent of the women were illiterate, while figures based on the men's signatures alone revealed that twenty-nine percent of the men were illiterate. In other words illiteracy among women occurred more than twice as often as among men. These facts show again that it was more customary to send boys to school than girls. There is no record of any girl attending school in the County, but numbers of boys had made bills with

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130 Based on figures compiled from Granville County Deed Books, A - L, 1746 - 1776, and Granville County Record Book, I, 1772 - 1775.

school masters.[131] As a whole, however, the state of literacy of Granville County was not low.

The educational standards must have exceeded those of many other counties; of the seven towns in the state that later endeavored to secure the State University, two were from Granville. Both Goshen near Oxford and Williamsboro put forth strong efforts to obtain the new University.[132] Poorly educated citizens would not have made such an effort. The attempt, of course, was made after the colonial period, but the educational conditions of the colonial period determined the intellectual interests of the citizens a few years later. Another indication of colonial Granville's interest in education is revealed in the efforts and success of establishing Granville Hall Academy in 1776 with Richard Henderson, Henry Patillo, Memucan Hunt, Charles Rust Eaton, and Osborn Jeffreys as trustees.[133] In such exciting times they could turn their attention to school work. Based on the fact that Granville citizens, shortly after the end of the colonial period, showed an unusual amount of interest in public

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131 Granville County Record Book, I, passim. See "Prices of Various Articles and Commodities" in the Appendix.

132 Collier Cobb, "On the Chance of Having Been Graduated at Cyprett's Bridge," The Alumni Bulletin of the University of North Carolina, I (May, 1929), No. 1.

133 House Journals, S.R., XIII, 809.

education, it is safe to assume that educational standards were high and that an illiteracy percent of thirty three and one-third was a very low rate for that period.

During the early settlement of Granville the streams were named so that the simples lives of the inhabitants were revealed. As settlement developed, there were opportunities for some social contacts through elections and court days. Eventually a number of ordinaries were established where the people no doubt sought entertainment; these taverns were subject to strict provincial laws. Household goods increased in quantity and quality; people began to buy fineries which could have found no way into pioneering Granville; and much time and thought were expended in improving their estates. Such a development of wealth was due to the presence of a large slave population. In time slavery produced the problem of the free Negro who was discriminated against by the colonial laws. Such is the story of the beginning of social development in colonial Granville.

Two other items entered into the County's growth in the form of schools and churches. The religious development occupied a great deal of the attention of the Assembly and all that was possible was done to force the Established Church on the people. After many schemes and elaborate laws the system practically

collapsed leaving the religious life of the County largely to the Presbyterians and Baptists. There is abundant evidence that education was early a matter of serious concern to the citizens whose per cent of literacy was unusually high for the period.

CHAPTER VIII

Influential Men

The development of colonial Granville County involved the work of many men, but some stood out more prominently than others. Among those who were prominent, William Eaton may be regarded as the father of the County.[1] No less important was Robert Jones' part in the establishment of the County, even though he never lived within its borders.[2] Robert Harris achieved prominence as a man who was able to give orders to the Governor and Samuel Benton was the county political czar.[3] Reuben Searcy's position in Granville

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1 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecomb" in the Appendix.

2 C, 646.

3 See Chapter III, "Public Disturbances."

politics was also important.[4] As examples of unselfish interest in government and the direct reverse, Thomas Person and Richard Henderson, respectively, played prominent parts in the life of the County. These men exerted strong influences over the affairs of Granville County for either part or all of the colonial period.

Chronologically William Eaton's services began first. He became established with his family in what later became Granville County as early as 1743. Not only did he have his family with him, but he also brought twenty-three slaves. Evidently he intended to stay, for he was admitted to the Governor's Council at Edenton in order to prove that he could seat a large tract of land because he had in all thirty-four settlers.[5] From 1743 to 1746 Eaton was evidently trying to get a new county formed. The County could not have begun to function when it did, if it had not been for William Eaton. For at least three years all county business was transacted at his home;[6] no phase of the county government was operated without his assistance. The first commission of the peace contained his name as one of His Majesty's Justices for the

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4 See Chapter III, "Public Disturbances."

5 Council Journals, C.R., IV, 625.

6 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecomb" in the Appendix. Act of Assembly, S.R., XXII, 313.

county court.[7] He served as a vestryman for the newly formed St. John's Parish,[8] and was the first register of deeds.[9] As early as 1754 the county militia, consisting of seven hundred thirty four men, had Eaton for the superior officer.[10] Very early in the County's history, if not at the beginning, he became a member of the Assembly for Granville.[11] He was evidently one of the sheriffs because he was the official keeper of the Granville jail.[12]

These duties were increased by the county peace commission's inefficiency in erecting a court house and other necessary buildings. After the failure to perform their duty satisfactorily, Eaton with two others was put on a special committee to choose a site near Tabbs Creek for the building and to contract for the erection of the building.[13] Later we find that the tax levied for the purpose was not collected, and it fell to William Eaton's lot to help advance the necessary funds until the levy could be collected.[14] The court house was

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7 Council Journals, C.R., IV, 813.

8 See "An Act for Dividing Edgecomb" in the Appendix.

9 A, 1.

10 Militia Returns, S.R., XXII, 313.

11 House Journals, C.R., IV, 837.

12 Report of the Committee of Public Claims, C.R., V, 981.

13 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 297-98.

14 Ibid., XXIII, 285.

built on Eaton's land[15] which, however, was as much for his convenience as in the nature of a sacrifice. Whether William Eaton sought the duties or not, they all fell on his shoulders and insomuch as the records reveal, he carried them out successfully.

Eaton was a very large landholder around Tabbs Creek[16] in the vicinity of Henderson where his home was located. According to the county court records he was the owner of much live stock and farmed on an extensive scale.[17] Besides transacting the County's business almost single-handedly, he was the guardian of the Indians in the County and even spoke their language to such a degree that he acted as interpreter for them. This duty sometimes involved long trips in the interest of the Indians.[18] His death occurred in 1759.[19]

Eaton seems to have been the only man who consistently took an interest in all phases of the County's business. In the beginning practically all the duties of government fell on him, and without apparent objections he attended to the

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15 H, 237.

16 Granville County Deed Books, A - D.

17 He was involved in many suits over the trespass of live stock.

18 Reports of the Committee of Public Claims, C.R., V, 981.

19 Thomas M. Owen, "Notes on Warren County Marriage Bonds," North Carolina Baptist Historical Papers, III, 116. (By 1767 William Eaton's widow had married Thomas Lowe (H, 237) who also held immense tracts of land. (Collet, Map of North Carolina; Granville County Deed Books.)

registration of land, the construction of public buildings, holding county court, advancing money when the County's credit was low, drilling the militia, looking out for the Indians, and caring for parish business. If there were any discrepancies in the transaction of all this business, they never came to light and certainly there was abundant opportunity for such action. William Eaton deserved the name of "Father of Granville County."

Another influential man of a very different type from William Eaton was Robert Jones. Jones was a stronger force in the economic development of the County than in political activities.[20] He was, however, more commonly noted for his connection with political affairs and for his tremendous control of land under the Earl of Granville's regime. Jones either came directly from England to Virginia or else received his education in England. It is quite probable that he received his education at Eton where he later sent his son, Allen Jones. At any rate Allen found many of his father's friends in England.[21] The early part of his career was spent in Surry County, Virginia, as a lawyer.[22] He remained there

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20 See Chapter IV, "The Land System."

21 S. A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, IV, 252.

22 A, 324.

until his land deals in North Carolina became so numerous that it was necessary for him to be on the scene in person. Northampton County, then, became Jones' home.[23] Due to his training as a lawyer and his familiarity with the Earl of Granville's land office,[24] he was able to obtain possession of numerous tracts of land which he rapidly sold at great gains. There is no record that his activities as a land speculator were ever resented by the people.

His political interests were identified with the royal governors rather than the court ring of the County. This was only natural because he was Attorney General of North Carolina from 1756 to 1766 after he lived in Northampton County. He incurred the wrath of the Granville office holders in 1755 by his attitude toward the failure of the Granville commission of the peace to hold court.[25] In the capacity of Attorney General for the colony, he was only doing his duty to report to the Governor that people had assembled for a session of court which the justices refused to hold because of a slight to one of their members by the Governor.[26] He was made the object of a bitter

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23 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 179; A, 646.

24 See Chapter III on Public Disturbances.

25 See Chapter III.

26 See Chapter III.

attack by the enraged Granville office holders.[27] Evidently, though, Jones accomplished nothing by interfering.

Jones' connection with the Enfield rioters was more than likely caused by his official position. It was his duty to prosecute the rioters who circulated the report that they intended to petition the court of Granville to silence him.[28] This the Granville Court would gladly have done, had they dared,[29] for they were already angry with Jones because he had reported their refusal to hold court to the Governor and had been instrumental in keeping some of the court ring from serving on the commission of the peace.[30] One fact is clear in Jones' connection with the County. He made a determined effort to stop the county politicians from neglecting their duties and may be regarded as the predecessor of George Sims who has been characterized as a champion of the people.[31] Besides his connection with Granville as a land speculator and as Attorney General of North Carolina, Jones was also a member of the Assembly from Northampton County from 1754 to 1761.

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27 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 180-81.

28 Ibid., 178.

29 Ibid., 181.

30 See Chapter III on Public Disturbances.

31 W. K. Boyd, op. cit., 178.

Five years later he was elected to the Assembly, but died before his term began. His two sons, Allen and Willie, became prominent during the Revolution,[32] and were hostile to the royal government. Had Robert Jones been as he was pictured by Reuben Searcy,[33] it is doubtful that both his sons would have been so much interested in popular government.

Robert Harris who was the cause of the Reuben Searcy Petition against Robert Jones,[34] was very prominent. He was typical of the colonial squire and there is no phase of the government which he did not enter. He was a resident of the County as early as 1752 when he was elected to the Assembly to serve the unexpired term of Edward Jones.[35] For a period of seventeen years following his first election, he remained in the Assembly as Granville's representative.[36] During that time he also served on the Granville commission of the peace,[37] and was colonel of the Granville Militia,[38] besides serving as

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32 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 179.

33 Ibid., 180-81.

34 See Chapter III on Public Disturbances.

35 House Journals, C.R., IV, 1329.

36 Ibid., C.R., IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, passim.

37 Letter of Robert Jones to Gov. Dobbs, C. R., V, 590-592.

38 Proceedings and Resolutions of the Council of War held at Hillsborough Camp 22nd and 23d September, 1768, C.R., VII, 842.

a vestryman for Granville Parish.[39] In 1771, shortly after his services in the Assembly were over, he became sheriff.[40] By systematically following his services in each of those offices, it will be seen that he always found personal profit in each position. He was appointed first by the Assembly as a commissary officer for Granville County to furnish provisions for the Indians who were allied with the North Carolinians in fighting the French. Harris was allowed eight pence per day for each Indian whom he should furnish with necessaries.[41] In 1766 he put in a claim for twenty-five shillings which he had paid for furnishing food to the guards of a criminal on the way from Orange to Halifax County. His claim was promptly paid. In 1770 he was allowed another claim of seven pounds nine shillings and one penny for furnishing food to the Granville Regiment as it marched to and from Hillsboro during the first Regulator scare.[43] For his own services on the march he received four pounds and ten shillings, and had charge of the money for paying the entire regiment.[44]

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39 Act of Assembly, S.R., XXIII, 497, 547.

40 IJ, 155.

41 Council Journals, C.R., V, 835.

42 Report of the Committee of Public Claims, C.R., XXII, 845.

43 Ibid., XXII, 859.

44 Militia Returns, C.R., XXII, 394.

Five years after his term as sheriff had been completed, he was seven hundred fifty five pounds in arrears. A number of the sheriffs at this period did not turn in the dues which they collected, but Robert Harris failed to account for more than any other one. Five years before Harris' term James Yancey had collected all of his but two hundred forty pounds. Of course, the number of taxables for 1767 was smaller than the number for 1771 when Harris was sheriff. That, however, does not explain why John Pope who was sheriff in 1769, had been able to collect all the levies and had paid in all his collections.[45] As vestryman for Granville Parish, Harris sold glebe land to the wardens of St. John's Church which lay in Granville Parish. His charges were at the rates of six shillings and six pence per acre and were a great deal higher than the average prices paid for land that year.[46] The deed was made to Richard Henderson and Reuben Searcy,[47] church wardens. Searcy and Harris were hand in hand in the matter of handling public finances.[48]

Harris was also embroiled in a dispute with the Governor and the Attorney General of North Carolina, and from all

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45 House Journals, C.R., IX, 572; K, 85.

46 See Chapter IV, The Land System.

47 C, 608.

48 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

evidences he was in the wrong.[49] He was also the moving influence behind the Searcy Petition.[50] In addition to his political activities Harris was a land speculator, though not on so large a scale as Robert Jones.[51] With the exception of Samuel Benton, he was probably more deeply involved in Granville's political turmoil than any other of the court house ring. He continued to wield considerable influence in local politics even after the departure of the royal governors.[52]

If possible Samuel Benton was a more nearly perfect example of the colonial politician than Robert Harris. Benton was possibly more prominent than any inhabitant of colonial Granville. The fact that the thousand-acre estate where his home was located was called Oxford[53] is an indication that he was educated at Oxford University in England, though apparently he came to Granville County from Johnston County.[54] As a usual occurrence the registers of deeds allowed many inaccuracies on the part of the scriveners who did their copying,[55]

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49 See foregoing discussion of Robert Jones.

50 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

51 Granville County Deed Books, passim.

52 An Ordinance of the Convention of 1776, S.R., XXIII, 993.

53 K, 204.

54 C, 405.

55 Granville County Deed Books, passim.

but Samuel Benton meticulously corrected the work of his copying clerks and inserted phrases to perfect the meaning.[56] In fact shortly after he took over the office, the scrivener who had been employed, was succeeded by one who did neater work. Occasionally the new one put in apologies for poorly done work.[57] All these facts indicate that Benton was a man of unusual education for that time.

His wealth also exceeded that of other Granville citizens. The manner of living that his family followed showed that they had almost unlimited means at their disposal.[58] They bought such articles as silk persian, Irish linen, waist coats and store shoes.[59] His estate before debts were collected amounted to over eighteen hundred pounds exclusive of land.[60] There were countless tracts of land throughout the County that Benton owned.[61] He was connected with almost every type of business that the County afforded.[62] He evidently prospered by

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56 D, 232.

57 Granville County Deed Books, passim.

58 Executor's Account of Samuel Benton's Estate, Granville County Record Book, I, 69, 77. (Benton carried an account with William Hamilton and Company that exceeded 1300 pounds.)

59 Ibid., I, 69, 77.

60 Ibid., I, 69, 77.

61 Granville County Deed Books, passim.

62 Executor's Account of Benton's Estate, Ibid., I, 67.

developing the town of Oxford on his land, because he sold numbers of small tracts to merchants and other people who came there to live.[63] Samuel Benton's position in the County commanded prestige from the fact that he was a very wealthy citizen.

Benton was as active in politics as his colleague, Robert Harris. He served as a member of the commission of justices of the peace from 1752 to 1755 and later in 1763 and 1764.[64] He was clerk of the Granville Court from 1765 to 1770[65] and simultaneously held the office of register of deeds from 1761 to 1770.[66] He served as a member of the Assembly from 1760 to 1768, as a commissioner to build the court house, and as a lieutenant colonel of the militia.[67] He also had charge of building St. George's Chapel.[68] In every respect he was a suitable political partner for Robert Harris. In fact he had local affairs more completely under his control than did Harris, because he held two very important county offices at

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63 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

64 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 179.

65 Ibid., 179.

66 D, 202; IJ, 52.

67 Proceedings and Resolutions of the Council of War held at Hillsborough Camp, 22d and 23d September 1768, C.R., VII, 842.

68 Executor's Account of Samuel Benton's Estate, Granville County Record Book, I, 67.

the same time. As clerk of the court he robbed the people steadily without any vestige of a law to give him a basis for charging such exhorbitant fees.[69] In fact Benton actually had the County divided and the court house moved to his own estate in order that he might be more completely the master of the political situation in Granville.[70] His hold of public offices did not weaken as he grew older, for he died in 1770 while still holding his many offices. Even his influence did not cease then; for one of his most productive offices was inherited by his son, Jesse Benton, and another by his henchman, Reuben Searcy.[71]

Searcy seems to have been a man who was not so prominent, nor was he so able as Benton and Harris. He was a man on whom the undesirable work of the political intrigues fell. During his career a number of suspicious events occurred. First he was connected with an illegal election in 1760. The matter was never settled satisfactorily, but Searcy was the person who acted illegally. It seems plausible that he tampered with the elections in order to elect his confreres, Robert Harris and Samuel Benton, to the Assembly. At any rate someone's influence in the Assembly saved Searcy from having to pay the costs for appearing before that body to answer the fraud charges

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69 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 187. See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

70 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

71 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

and he escaped with a slight reprimand as his only punishment.[72] When Searcy was collector of the taxes in Granville in 1763, he did not take out a bond as was legal, but the matter was never accounted for.[73] He served as sheriff of the County in 1764,[74] and nine years later he had not accounted for two hundred twenty eight pounds of tax money which he had collected in 1764. This was a smaller sum than three other sheriffs had charged to them,[75] but it was a long standing account which was evidently never paid.

He appeared in public life as a clerk first in 1760.[76] In 1764 he served as sheriff, and from 1771 until the end of the colonial period he was county clerk of the court to succeed Samuel Benton.[77] Unlike his two political associates he did not appear in the county peace commission nor among the superior officers of the militia. In comparison with Robert Harris and Samuel Benton his land holdings were limited, though

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72 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

73 Estimate of Balances Due, C.R., IX, 573.

74 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances; G, 261.

75 Estimate of Balances Due, C.R., IX, 572.

76 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

77 W. K. Boyd, Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, 179.

he did own more than the average amount.[78] Along with Robert Harris, however, he appeared as a vestryman for Granville Parish.[79] Therefore Reuben Searcy did not take quite such a prominent part in holding offices as Harris and Benton, but he certainly succeeded in spending some of the public money.

He was evidently a younger man than either of the other two, judging from the fact that he was not married until 1760 to Lavinia Henderson who was a relative of Richard Henderson's.[80] Thus Searcy's marriage served to connect him with a family that was prominent in the County's life, and he rose from an underling who tampered with elections and prepared petitions against high officials at the instigation of Robert Harris, to a county office holder with opportunities for enriching himself.

Richard Henderson furnishes, perhaps, a character of less influence in the County than the men discussed above. His lack of influence was due to the fact that he was associated with officers of the Crown rather than the local politicians. His affiliations with the Crown set him apart from the local politicians who seemed to have a dislike for officers of the Crown as they had for Robert Jones.[81] Practically the only

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78 Granville County Deed Books, passim.

79 See Chapter VIII, Social Life.

80 Granville County Marriage Bonds (In Register of Deeds Office, Oxford, N. C.)

81 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

county office held by Richard Henderson was that of vestryman for Granville Parish.[82] Governor Tryon's characterization of Henderson shows that he was on the side of the officers of the Crown. Early in his life Henderson became the king's deputy attorney for Granville.[83] In 1769 he was appointed to the highest court in the colony by Tryon[84] to please the people of the back country whom, he thought, would be honored at having such a distinction paid them.[85] The fact that people from his own County burned Henderson's home and barns in a section that was full of his relatives, is an indication of the unpopularity which a Crown official incurred.[86]

More personal facts about Henderson's life are to be found than about some of the other leading men of the County. He was a native of Hanover County, Virginia, where he was born on April 20, 1735. He came into Granville County when he was less than ten years of age. His father was a native Virginian of Scotch descent and his mother's people were originally from Wales.[87] Henderson was a prominent man in the province

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82 See Chapter VIII, Social Life.

83 S. A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, I, 297.

84 Ibid., I, 297.

85 Letter from Tryon to Earl of Shelburne, C.R., VII, 697.

86 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

87 S. A. Ashe, op. cit., I, 297.

but not in his own County. No doubt he caused the migration of numbers of men from Granville when he began the Transylvania scheme. Otherwise his influence did not count with the people because he was a Crown official sworn to do his duty. Henderson, however, did not perform his sworn duty, since, in beginning the Transylvania colony, he broke his oath of office to support the Crown.[88]

With Thomas Person the story was different. He was a man who could hold offices in the County and at the same time stand aloof from the political ring. He also became an inhabitant of Granville by passing through Virginia in the usual way. His boyhood and entire life were spent in the County. Among the host of dishonest surveyors in Lord Granville's employ, Thomas Person achieved fame by doing honest and accurate work. He was enabled to acquire many tracts of land on account of his early office of surveyor which caused him to know where the best unclaimed land was located.[89] Person, then, was a man of wealth who was highly respected in his own County.

In county public life Person held practically as many offices as Benton and Harris, but not with the same object in view. He was suggested for the commission of the peace for Granville in 1756. Six years later he served as sheriff of

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88 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

89 S. A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, VII, 381. (The greatest part of the discussion on Person comes from this reference.)

the County. Shortly afterward he served in the Assembly where he was placed on important committees. Again in 1769 he returned to the Assembly where a very unpleasant incident occurred.[90] From his connection with the Regulator disturbances Person angered Richard Henderson very much.[91] Person was accused of perjury before October 23, 1769, in the Granville County Court, but the judge on the case helped him out.[92] Then the accuser, Richard Henderson,[93] finding that he could not convict Person in the County, maneuvered to have him dismissed from the Assembly because he was unworthy of a seat there.[94] A committee of seventy-nine, evidently the entire Assembly, was appointed to examine Person.[95] Three days after the appointment of the committee, it was ordered to proceed with the inquiry.[96] In a month's time John Campbell, the chairman, reported that not one of the charges was true and that the charges were made by Richard Henderson "through malice and envy, with design to injure the character and reputation of

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90 S. A. Ashe, Biographical History of North Carolina, VII, 381-82.

91 Ibid., I, 383.

92 Letter from Ben Person to his brother, (1769), Person Papers. (Historical Commission Office, Raleigh, N. C.)

93 House Journals, C.R., VIII, 467.

94 Ibid., VIII, 326.

95 Ibid., VIII, 326.

96 Ibid., VIII, 333.

the said Thomas Person."[97] It was suggested that the entire matter with a copy of the allegations be put into the Public Gazette.[98] As a further vindication for Person it was ordered that Henderson pay the expenses of the witnesses who had been summoned from Granville County to testify against Person.[99] These witnesses were twenty-one in number,[100] and were among the most prominent citizens of Granville. Henderson was to receive the highest censure which the Assembly could inflict in case he failed to pay the expenses of the witnesses.[101] Henderson's charges included extortion, usury, and the exacting of illegal fees[102] in addition to perjury. Such an imposing list of accusations was probably used to hide the fact that he really had not any definite charge against Person. Tryon was displeased at the outcome and blamed the adverse decision for Henderson on the absence of a majority of the members.[103] However, after endeavoring to escape payment of the costs for two years, Henderson was relieved of the

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97 House Journals, C.R., VIII, 448-449.

98 Ibid., VIII, 467-68.

99 Ibid., VIII, 467-68.

100 Ibid., VIII, 467-68.

101 Ibid., VIII, 467-68.

102 House Journals, C.R., VIII, 326.

103 Letter from Tryon to Earl of Hillsborough, C.R., VII, 524-25.

sentence.[104] This occurrence illustrates both Henderson's malicious feelings about Person's attitude toward the Regulation and Person's irreproachable character.

Person's advanced ideas concerning democracy and independence[105] went a long way toward making enemies for him among the officers of the Crown. His hand can be seen in the "Proceedings of Freeholders in Granville County 15th August, 1774",[106] which was really a treatise on an ideal form of government as it was supposed to function then. Therefore the conclusions of an early author[107] concerning Thomas Person may be used. Person constantly opposed the oppression of the royal government and supported the privileges of the people. Tryon's and Henderson's disapproval of Person, and his freedom from association with the county court ring put him in a class alone. His interest in George Sims' Petition against the outrages of Benton and his clique[108] places him definitely on the people's side of all disturbances. Thomas Person was the greatest factor for just government in colonial Granville, if not in the entire province.

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104 House Journals, C.R., IX, 717.

105 Prefatory Note, C.R., VIII, p. XXVII.

106 Proceedings of Freeholders in Granville County, C.R., IX, 1034.

107 Jo Seawell Jones, Defense of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina (1834), 133-37.

108 See Chapter III, Public Disturbances.

In general these influential men each contributed to the County's development; however, some of them were hindrances. As the founder of Granville County, William Eaton performed practically all the governmental duties until his death which occurred after the County had been safely launched. His efforts all seem to have been honestly put forth for the development of the County. It was not so with Robert Jones whose activities were selfish if they did inadvertently hasten the County's settlement. The work of the land speculator, more than likely, drew many settlers to the County. Robert Harris and Samuel Benton obtained a secure hold on all phases of the county government and used that influence to further their private fortunes. They obtained such a grip on county politics that not even the Governor could break their influence, nor could the complaints of the people stop their graft. As an accomplice in the Benton-Harris regime Reuben Searcy helped to keep fraudulent government in the County after Benton was dead. Richard Henderson was a prominent inhabitant of the County from his connection with the Royal Governor, but that same connection caused his unpopularity in Granville. In Thomas Person, Henderson's antithesis was personified. Person worked indefatigably for the rights of the people and never ceased to advocate democracy. It was evident that these views caused the bitter enmity of Richard Henderson who did all in his power to disgrace Person. Granville County became a prosperous colonial county from the unselfish ministrations of Eaton and Person, despite the malicious and fraudulent practices of Harris, Benton, and Searcy.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusions

Geographically Granville County presented great attractions to the pioneers who were so expert in choosing good farming land. There were several physical characteristics which drew the settlers' attention, aside from the soil itself. Chief among these was the fact that the land was well-watered. Numerous creeks compose part or all of the three water sheds, and made a paradise for the colonial miller. These streams flowed through a land that was sufficiently undulating to make them flow swiftly, but not rugged enough to discourage settlers from choosing farming lands. An ideal temperature averaging around sixty degrees with a rainfall of forty-nine inches provided an ample growing season.

The forest-covered soil was, in general, of two types, upland and alluvial. Practically all of the former type had its origin in the decomposition of granite rocks which usually yield a fertile soil. Much red clay was also found in the

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Conclusions

upland soil. In the case of the alluvial soils there were two types, known as Roanoke silt loam and meadow loam. Both varieties furnished especially good grazing lands, and the meadow loam was also excellent for cultivation because it was easy to warm and deep cultivation was not necessary. An abundance of canes, reeds and grasses also enticed the early settlers whose existence was made easier by a prodigal supply of game.

In a word the hand of nature had paved the way for the settlement of pioneer Granville. A well-watered undulating surface, a mild climate, a long growing season, rich soil, excellent grazing land, and a bounteous supply of game decided the occupation of any pioneer who settled in Granville. The natural features have been the predominant factors in determining the development of the region from the earliest days to the present.

Before the arrival of the whites this agricultural region was occupied by several tribes of Indians. Seven distinct groups, the Occoneechi, Haherrins, Tuscaroras, Tutelos, Saponi, Nottoways, and Nansemonds, all lived in the County either before or during its existence as a political unit. From the standpoint of numbers the Tuscaroras were most important, but since the settlement of the County did not begin on an extensive scale until after the Tuscarora War of 1711, they really had little influence on the life of the County other than to retard its settlement. The Saponi were numerous and left their imprint in many geographical names. Judging from surviving

records, they seem to have been much less warlike than the Tuscaroras. At any rate they lived peaceably in the County for a long period after its formation.

Both fact and fiction bear out the statement that no white settlers dared to brave the Tuscaroras before 1711, and after that time a few pioneers from the vicinity of Bath settled in the southeastern corner of the County. However, the bulk of the settlers came from Virginia between 1711 and 1746. Many of them came from nearby counties, but their arrival cannot be explained from their proximity to Granville because, as a matter of record, twenty-eight different Virginia counties furnished Granville with settlers. That number, at the time, included a great part of the province of Virginia, but there is a slight indication that Hanover County in Virginia, due to religious disturbance, probably sent more than any other one county. Governor Josiah Martin, near the end of the colonial period, commented very emphatically on the great number of prosperous Virginians who had settled in Granville, and other records support his statement, as the Virginians who settled in Granville took out larger grants of land and paid more per acre for land than did other settlers. Hence, it is more than likely that the Virginians obtained the best land and made excellent use of it.

It is a definite fact that Granville received a vast number of settlers from 1711 to 1746 and that the most of them were Virginians, but many Scotch families also came in.

In spite of this rapid growth in numbers there were no towns of any size. Harrisburg and Williamsboro, and later Oxford, were the only villages that were at all worthy of the name.

As the western section of Edgecombe County grew in population, it became necessary to form Granville County from that part of Edgecombe. A very important task in launching a new county is the organization of the governing bodies. As conditions existed at that time in the Province, practically all phases of the various county governments were controlled by the county courts. These courts were composed of justices of the peace who controlled directly or indirectly the offices of sheriff, clerk of court, member of the Assembly, and vestryman. In other words one political clique acted as a close corporation in attending to governmental affairs. Granville County soon had a perfect political machine of that type. There were sheriffs who embezzled funds, clerks of court who charged exhorbitant fees, justices of the peace who neglected to hold court, and vestrymen who levied such heavy parish taxes that the people could not pay them.

Such a situation brought about a series of public disturbances which were not very conducive to the development of the County. The county political machine, particularly the justices of the peace, kept the question of a suitable location for the court house before the people for nineteen years. During that time there were five different court houses in the County for no other reasons than caprice, incompetence, and intrigue to further their own private ends. One justice, Robert Harris,

went so far in defying Governor Dobbs that court was not held according to schedule, nor was the matter closed until Harris had carried his point. On account of the schemes of the same men the conduct of the county militia was sacrificed to politics. Likewise the same clique was instrumental in having the County divided in order to put the government more completely in Samuel Benton's hands. There were several election frauds reported, and finally, as a result of such misrule and exhorbitant fees, the matter came to a head in the Regulator uprising which had its first expression in Granville County.

Hand in hand with the inadequate government was the matter of obtaining titles to land. Here was a jumbled situation; it was possible to obtain titles from the Lords Proprietors, the Crown, the Earl of Granville, or Henry M'Culloh. They could be obtained from Lord Granville and M'Culloh simultaneously. As a matter of fact very few titles were obtained before 1746; for great numbers of settlers who came in prior to that time were squatters. Most of the titles, however, were secured from the Earl of Granville. Granville County lay in the Granville District and, though the Earl of Granville had elaborate regulations for distributing his land and intended to serve the people conscientiously, he was circumvented by speculators and his own agents. Robert Jones, who profited on land speculation at a greater rate than four hundred and ten percent, may be used as one example of the many speculators in colonial Granville County. After a number of complaints,

Granville's agents became a little more honest in their dealings. Their change of tactics and the regranting of improperly seated land more than likely accounted for the great increase in the number of Granville grants in 1760. The increase in the number of citizen grants in 1763 was due partly to the fact that all the M'Culloh land had to be granted in tracts not larger than two hundred acres, and partly to the high prices that prevailed during the latter half of the colonial period.

Other phases of the land situation presented as great a tangle. It is impossible to draw any definite conclusions about quit rents, but they were not always paid when due by any means. Very few tracts of more than a thousand acres were granted; in fact, the grants were all small and became subdivided rapidly. Prices were high just prior to the Revolution and lowground land always demanded a greater price than other land. Judging from its actual operation, the land system presented a mass of inconsistencies based on obtaining titles, unobserved Granville regulations, dishonest agents, lax methods of surveying and irregular quit rents.

The earliest inhabitants did not farm the land, but earned their livelihood from the forest. Agriculture, however, developed very rapidly, and with a plentiful supply of tools the farmer began to clear, cultivate, and exhaust the soil in a regular cycle. Among his chief products were corn, tobacco, wheat, cotton, and fruit. Corn claimed first place as a food, but wheat was not cultivated so extensively. As early as 1732 the cultivation of tobacco was a flourishing industry, but

evidently it had declined considerably in importance by 1771. Apples and peaches were also grown extensively, but not so with cotton; it was only produced for household consumption.

The greatest problem connected with colonial farming lay in the open range law for live stock. Huge droves of cows, hogs, and sheep, branded with their owners' marks, ranged over the country side at will. Confronted with strict regulations concerning brands and fencing crops, the farmer found himself a busy man. Both the fencing and trespass regulations were meticulously observed, judging from the fact that in practically all the numerous court cases involving the trespass of live stock, the defendants were adjudged guilty.

Though farming was the most important industry of colonial Granville, there were other occupations. Milling, tar burning, and merchandising were important. The miller made his appearance quite early and was of great value in transforming the corn crop into a more valuable food, but the tar burner did not work very extensively, because a market was lacking. Near the end of the colonial period the merchant became a familiar figure in the County. There were no less than forty-six from London, Glasgow, Virginia, and Halifax, who transacted business in Granville. To a much less degree other trades were represented; carpenters, saddlers, haberdashers, tailors, weavers, bricklayers, coopers, wheelwrights, and one lone silver smith all lent their aid in developing the County into one of the most prosperous in provincial North Carolina.

On the other hand a very serious handicap to the County's economic progress lay in the lack of a uniform currency; there were seven varieties of money in use. Virginia money was the only stable currency that could be obtained, and consequently, composed the greatest part of the money in use until 1760, after which time it never composed less than sixty per cent of the money in circulation. Other forms of money in use were proclamation money, the English pound sterling, an occasional Spanish coin, public bills of credit,and unminted gold and silver. Such a situation was undoubtedly a great drawback to trade, and it is no wonder that counterfeiting was resorted to.

That prosperity should come in the face of poor soil management, open range laws, and a wretched currency system seems incredible, but crops were raised, mills run, and various other industries carried on, but most convincing of all, the merchants developed a thriving trade. And by the end of the colonial period we see that Granville County had been transformed from a pioneer land of hunters and guides to a prosperous community of farmers, carpenters, haberdashers, and the like.

Contrary to its treatment of other colonial counties the provincial Assembly never passed any special acts for road building in Granville County. Granville's roads developed from trails and paths, but later the County court had roads built. The Trading Path, the oldest road in the County, was in existence as early as 1701. Without a doubt it was more

influential in Granville's early settlement than any other one factor. The Virginians heard stories of fertile soil and plentiful game from the traders who used the Path. The road's usefulness did not cease then because it was in use throughout the colonial period.

When the county court began to attend to the roads, as the provincial laws directed, all citizens, except those exempted from military duty, were required to work the roads twice each year. After a time roads seem to have been more systematically laid out in order to connect the centers of population. The best known of these roads were the Hico and the Main. The former was the chief highway from east to west, while the latter led to the Virginia markets. There were various other cart and wagon roads.

The road system, however, was very poor because it continued to be quite expensive to send messages by express and the circulation of newspapers was almost impossible. No doubt, though, the roads were as well built and maintained as those of any other county under the colonial government.

As a result the people had scant opportunity for social contact except on election and court days and through the church. The Established Church was very poorly organized and supported. Originally Granville consisted of two parishes, St. John's and Granville, but St. John's later became Bute County. In the two parishes there was only one church that survived; one other was started; and two were planned. When each taxable was

assessed more than one pound for church buildings, there was such a vigorous remonstrance that it clearly demonstrates that the sway of the Church of England on Granville citizens was imposed by law only.

With the Presbyterians and Baptists the story was different. Coming chiefly from Hanover County in Virginia early in the colonial period, the Presbyterians settled in the northern part of the County on Grassy Creek. There they prospered exceedingly. With Reverend William Walker as the moving spirit, Baptist congregations were organized at Fishing, Grassy, and Reedy creeks. Soon after their organization these churches were reorganized on the basis of the Philadelphia Confession of Faith by two missionaries. It is quite possible that one or more of these three churches belonged to the Kehuckee Association, and to the Sandy Creek Association. There is but little doubt that these two denominations hampered very seriously the growth of the Anglican Church in Granville County.

Educational life in the County was not neglected, as is demonstrated by the fact that only about one-third of the population was illiterate. There were several school masters, two schools, and frequent possession of paper, ink, and books. These conditions paved the way in later years for a citizenry that was tremendously interested in obtaining the location of the University of North Carolina in the County. As was usually the case, however, illiteracy among the women was greater than men; in fact not half as many women could read and write as men. On the whole, though, educational advancement was on a

higher plane than was usually the case for that period.

There were other social problems than churches and schools to occupy the public attention. Perhaps one of the most troublesome had to do with the licensing and operation of ordinaries; many elaborate laws were made concerning liquor and gambling. Horse stealing was also a common crime. An additional problem lay in the presence and treatment of free Negroes who were openly discriminated against.

In the midst of petitions against the Church of England and educational and other social questions, the people of Granville, in the thirty years of its existence as a colonial county, left the cruder pioneering days. Evidence of progress in the County lay in the presence of more elaborate clothes and furnishings during the latter part of the period. The prosperity necessary to make such progress came partly from slave labor. In the latter part of the period the percentage of slaves in the population amounted to about thirty three and one-third, but was gradually increasing.

Thus we have Granville inhabitants troubled by unsatisfactory church conditions, the operation of ordinaries, horse stealing and the free Negro problem. On the other hand educational life was in a very encouraging condition and the people were prospering in an economic way.

In developing the County to such a position a number of men played prominent parts; of those who were disinterested in personal gain William Eaton and Thomas Person were most

important. Eaton was settled in the bounds of the County very early and was chiefly responsible for its formation. Among his many offices, which included those of vestryman, justice of the peace, register of deeds, sheriff, member of the Assembly, and custodian of the Indians, there is no record of any defalcations. Practically the same is true of Thomas Person, except that his activities fell largely in the latter part of the colonial period. In all the disputes of the time he was never identified with the political clique that operated the county government to its own interest. Eaton and Person made great efforts to establish a stable and just government.

Samuel Benton, Robert Harris, and Reuben Searcy provide a different type; they were prominent in County affairs on account of their regime of misrule. Benton's renown is based on the excessive fees which he charged while register of deeds and clerk of the court, and on the fact that he practically operated the county government. Robert Harris, his principal ally, was prominent chiefly for a dispute with Governor Dobbs wherein he was the victor. Serving as a kind of henchman of the two, Reuben Searcy also belonged to the ruling political clique.

Robert Jones and Richard Henderson were different types; they were both officers of the Crown, but spent much of their time in land schemes. Jones was a notorious speculator in Lord Granville's land, while Henderson was the moving spirit behind the Transylvania schemes. Both were heartily disliked by the ruling political faction because they were officers of the Crown. Neither, however, could have been over-zealous for

the interests of the Crown because Henderson later became a fugitive from the royal government and Jones reared two sons who became ardent Revolutionary patriots. Thus the County was served by honest public servants, robbed by an unscrupulous political clique and exploited by land speculators.

Being richly endowed by nature, Granville County was attractive to the nearby settlers who came in rapidly when the strength of the Tuscaroras was broken. With the County's economic growth there developed a local political situation which threatened to throw public affairs into a disrupted condition. The rapid distribution of land by means of speculation proved to be the first step in developing agriculture which became the predominating industry. No industry, depending on the presence of good roads, developed and likewise education and religion were retarded by a lack of social contact. In a remarkably short time Granville was transformed from a crude, pioneering district into a prosperous county.

Living today in an almost different world, we little realize the rapid strides that colonial progress took. In a word Granville's brief colonial existence of thirty years was marked by remarkable political, economic, and social development. If Granville's story of advancement be an indication of the Colony's progress, it is doubtful if any period of North Carolina's colonial existence witnessed greater development.

APPENDICES

An Act for dividing Edgcomb County and Parish, and for erecting the upper Part thereof into a County and Parish by the Name of Granville County and St. John's Parish; and for appointing Vestrymen for the said Parish.[1]

I. Whereas the County and Parish of Edgecomb, being a Frontier County, is now so extensively settled that the Public Business of the said County and Parish becomes very difficult to be transacted:

II. We therefore pray that it may be Enacted, And be it Enacted, by His Excellency Gabriel Johnston, Esq., Governor, By and with the Advice and Consent of his Majesty's Council, and General Assembly of this Province, and by the Authority of the same, That Edgecomb County and Parish be divided by a Line beginning at the Mouth of Stonehouse Creek, on Roanoke River, to the Mouth of Cypress Swamp, on Tar River, and from Thence across the River, in a direct Course, to the Middle Grounds between Tar River and Neuse River, being the dividing Line between Craven and Edgecomb Counties; and that the upper Part of the said County and Parish, as divided by the Line that shall be agreed on by the Commissioners hereafter named, be erected into a County by the name of Granville County and St. John's Parish; And that the said County and Parish shall enjoy as many privileges as any other County or Parish in this Province holds and enjoys, save only that the said County shall send but Two Representatives to sit in the General Assembly.

III. And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That the Courts of the said County shall be held on every Tuesday succeeding the County Courts of Northampton.

IV. And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, that the Justices of the said County or the Majority of them, shall hold their first Court at the Dwelling-house of William Eaton, and then and there nominate and appoint a certain Place for building a Court-house, Prison and Stocks, at the most proper Place in the said County: and shall also make such Orders and Rules for erecting the said Buildings and running the dividing Line aforesaid, at the proper and equal Expense of the Inhabitants of the same, by a Poll-Tax not exceeding Two Shillings, Proclamation Money per year, for Two Years and no longer.

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1 Act of Assembly, S. R., 249-50.

ans Parish, and for erecting the
upper Part thereof into a County
and Certain by the Name of Granville
County and St. John's Parish; and
said Parish.

V. And be it further Enacted, That William Eaton, William Person, Francis Stringer and James Macklewean be, and are hereby appointed Commissioners; who are hereby impowered and directed to run a dividing line between the said Counties of Granville and Johnston, as agreeable as maybe for the Ease and Convenience of the several Inhabitants of the said Counties, beginning at such a Place on the Head Line aforesaid of Edgecomb County as the said Commissioners shall think meet and just.

VI. And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Court shall, at the first setting thereof, recommend to his Excellency the Governor, Three Persons for his approbation of one of them to execute the Office of Sheriff, according to the Law, for the said County.

VII. And to the End that no Action begun in Edgecomb County Court be defeated by the Division aforesaid, Be it Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That where any Action is already commenced in the said Court of Edgecomb, and the Parties or Evidences shall be Inhabitants of Granville County, all subsequent Process against such Parties or Evidences shall be directed to be executed by the Sheriff of Edgecomb County; Any Act, Law, Usage or Custom to the Contrary notwithstanding.

VIII. And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That William Eaton, William Persons, John Martin, Edward Jones, James Mitchell, James Paine, West Harris, John Wade, William Moore, Samuel Lanier, Robert Parker and Joseph Sims be, and they are hereby appointed Vestrymen of the said Parish of St. John's to serve in Vestry until the General Election of Vestrymen, according to Law, and that the said Vestrymen shall be summoned by the Sheriff of the said County of Granville to meet at the House of William Eaton and qualify themselves as a Vestry, and proceed to parish Business.

IX. And be it further Enacted, That all Public County and Parish Levies now due from any of the Inhabitants of the said County of Granville shall be collected by the Sheriff of Edgecomb County and accounted for in the same Manner as though this Act had not been made.

Signed by

GABRIEL JOHNSTON, ESQ., Governor.

NATHANIEL RICE, President.

SAMUEL SWANN, Speaker.

The First Recorded Deed Given in Granville County by the Earl of Granville[1]

THIS INDENTURE made the twenty fifth day of June in the twenty second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. Anno Dom. 1748 BETWEEN the Right Honorable John Earl of Granville Viscount Carteret and Baron Carteret of Hawns in the County of Bedford in the Kingdom of Great Britain and one of the Lords of his Majestys most honorable Privy Council of the one part and Robert Jones Junr of the County of Granville in the Province North Carolina Gentleman of the other part.

WHEREAS his said Most Excellent Majesty King George the second in and by A certain Indenture bearing Date Eighteenth day of September in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign and in the Year of Our Lord Christ One thousand seven hundred and forty four and made between his said Most Excellent Majesty of the one part and the said John Earl of Granville by the Name stile and title of the Right Honorable John Lord Carteret of the other part Did for the Considerations therein mentioned give and grant Release Ratify and Confirm the said Earl by the name of John Lord Carteret and his heirs and Assigns forever a Certain District territory or parcel of Land in the Province of North Carolina in America and all the sounds Creeks Havens Ports Rivers Streams and other Royalties Franchises Privileges and Immunities within the same as they are therein set out alloted and granted and Confirmed to the said John Earl Granville by the name of one Eighth part of the Provinces of South and North Carolina by the said Indenture duly enrolled in the high court of Chancery in Great Britain and in the Secretary's office of the Province of North Carolina relation being thereunto had with amongst other things more fully and at large appear. NOW THIS INDENTURE witnesseth that as well for and in Consideration of the sum of three shillings Proclamation Money to the said John Earl Granville in hand paid by the said Robert Jones Jun. at or before the Ensealing and delivery of these Presents whereof he the said Earl doth hereby acknowledge As Also for and in Consideration of the Rents Covenants Exceptions Provisoes and agreements herein after mentioned Reserved and Contained, and by, and on the part and behalf of the said Robert Jones Junr his heirs and Assigns to be paid performed observed and kept &c. He the said Earl hath given granted bargained sold and Confirmed and by these Presents doth give grant bargain Sell and Confirm unto the said Robert Jones Junr his heirs Assigns forever

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1 A, 102-106. (The full titles of the Earl of Granville and the King are given with bombastic phraseology in direct contrast to later deeds.

All that piece and parcel of Land Situate lying and being in the Parish of Saint John and County of Granville in the province of North Carolina in America on both sides of hico Creek beginning at a sweet gum in the County line thence Running South two hundred and twenty four pole to a dogwood thence west three hundred and sixty pole to a pine a corner tree of the said Robert Jones line north two hundred and twenty four pole to a Red Oak in the County line afs. and by the said line East to the beginning and Containing in the whole five hundred and three acres of Land all which premises are more particularly described and set forth in the plan or Map thereof hereunto annex'd together with all woods Underwoods Timber and Lumber trees, lakes, ponds, Fishing, Water Courses, profits Commodoties Appurtenances and Hereditaments whatsoever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining, together with the Privilege of Hunting Hawking and fowling and of taking catching and making use of all sorts of Game in and upon the Premises hereby granted and all Mines and Minerals whatsoever therein to be found (except, and always reserved out of this present Grant unto the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, his heirs and Successors one forth Part of all Gold and Silver Mines to be found in or upon the premises And also except, and reserved thereout unto the said John Earl Granville, his heirs and Assigns one Moiety or half part of the remaining three fourths of all such Gold and Silver Mines as shall be found in or upon the said premises and one Moiety or half part of all other Mines or Minerals whatsoever, and all white pine trees now growing or hereafter to be found growing thereon).

TO HAVE and to hold the said piece or parcel of Land and all and Singular other the Premises hereby granted with the appurtenances except before excepted unto the said Robert Jones Jun^{r} his heirs and Assigns forever, Yielding and paying Yearly and every year forever unto the said Earl his heirs and Assigns the yearly Rent or the sum of one pound and one penny Proclamation Money which is at the Rate of three shillings Sterling or four Shillings Proclamation Money for every hundred Acres at or upon the two most feasts or days of payment in the year that is to say, the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin and the feast of St. Michael the Archangel in every year by even and equal portions and to be paid at the Court House of the County of Granville aforesaid unto the said Earl or his deputy Attorney or Receiver for the time being the first payment thereof to be made on such of the feast days as shall first happen after the date hereof. And the said Robert Jones for himself and his heirs and Assigns and for every of them doth hereby covenant promise and agree to and with the said Earl his heirs and Assigns and to and with every of them by these presents in Manner and form following that is to say that the said Robert Jones Jun^{r} his heirs and Assigns shall and will Yearly and every year forever well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said Earl his heirs and Assigns or unto his or there deputy Attorney or Receiver for the time being on the days and at the place aforesaid the afore said yearly Rent or sum of one pound and one penny proclam. Money by half yearly payments as aforesaid, And Further that the said Robert Jones his heirs or Assigns or some or one of them shall and will within three

years to be accounted from the day of the date hereof clear and Cultivate at the Rate of three Acres for every hundred Acres of the said premises as hereby granted and so on from three years to three years for the Space of twenty-one years from the date hereof or in Case he shall Omit to clear and Cultivate at the rate of three Acres for every hundred Acres of the said premises for any one three years of the said twenty one years aforesaid That then, and in such Case he will in lieu thereof erect and build a good dwelling house on some part of the Premises hereby granted and also keep a stock of Cattle on the said premises at the rate of five head for every hundred Acres of the said Premises Provided always and it is hereby expressly declared and Agreed by and Between all the parties hereto That if it shall happen that the said yearly Rent of one pound and one penny proclam. money or any part thereof shall not at any time forever hereafter be behind or unpaid by the space of twenty one days next over or after either of the said feast days before limited and appointed for the payment thereof (and no sufficient distress can be found on the premises hereby granted to levey such Rent and Arrears with the charges of such distress) or if the said Robert Jones his heirs or Assigns shall not within three years to be accounted from the day of the date hereof clear and Cultivate the premises hereby granted at the rate of three Acres for every hundred Acres of the said premises or shall not within the said Space of twenty one years clear and cultivate the premises after the rate of twenty one Acres for every hundred Acres of the premises hereby granted as aforesaid nor erect and build a good dwelling house on some part of the premises as aforesaid or shall not keep a Stock of Cattle thereon at the Rate of five head for every Hundred Acres as aforesaid that then in all every or any of the cases aforesaid it shall and maybe lawful to and for the said Earl his heirs and Assigns in all and Singular the said hereby granted premises with the Appurtenances or into any part thereof in the name of the whole to Reenter and the same to have again retake keep and enjoy as in his first and former Estate and Interest, and the said Robert Jones his heirs and Assigns and all and every other person and persons tenants or Occupyers of the said premises thereout utterly to expel a move and put out this grant or anything herein contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding In witness whereof the parties above named have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and Year first above written.

BE it remembered that the day and the year first above written Edward Mosely and Robert Halton by Virtue of a letter of Attorney and Commission under the hand and Seal of the above Named John Earl Granville duly entered and registered in the Secretary's office of the Province of North Carolina did in the name of the said Earl sign and subscribe this grant with the said Earl's title and then seal and deliver the same as his the said Earl's Act and Deed in the Presence of us who in their Presence have hereunto Subscribed our Names as witnesses

T. Barker E.Mosely. (S. S.)

Dan. Weldon Robt. Halton (S. S.)

Granville S. S. May Court 1749

The within Deed of sale from the Right Hon. John Earl Granville Viscount Carteret and Baron Carteret of Hawns in the County of Bedford in the Kingdom of Great Britain and one of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council to Robt. Jones Junr. Gent was proved in Court by the Oath of Daniel Weldon one of the Evidences thereto and by the Court Ordered to be Registered.

Certified by Dan. Weldon Cler Cur

Test

Willm Eaton Recorder

A Later Deed from the Earl of Granville.[1]

THIS INDENTURE made the first day of March in the Year of our (Lord) one Thousand and sixty two Between the Right Honorable John Earl Granville etc. of the one Part and Samuel Ketterall of Granville County in the Province of North Carolina of the other part. WHEREAS etc. Now this Indenture WITNESSETH that as well for and in consideration of the sum of Ten shillings sterling Money to the said John Earl Granville in hand paid by the said Samuel Ketteral as also for and in consideration of the Rents Covenants etc. he the said Earl hath Given Granted Bargained Sold and Confirmed and by these Presents doth Give Grant Bargain Sell and Confirm unto the said Samuel Ketterall his heirs and Assigns forever all that Tract or parcel of Vacant Land Situate Lying and Being in the County of Granville in the said Province on the Branches of Tabbs Creek Beginning at a White Oak thence Running So. 390 pole to a Pine thence by Spears's Line E^{t}220 pole to a White Oak thence by Fuller's Line N^{o}. 390 pole to an Oak thence by Jones's and Ketteral's Line West to the first Station CONTAINING in the whole Four hundred Eighty Acres Land all which Premises &c. Together &c. To have & to hold &c yielding & Paying &c yearly & every year &c unto John Earl Granville his heirs or Assigns the yearly Rent of nineteen shillings & two pence half penny which is at the rate of three Shillings sterling for every hundred Acres &c at or upon &c by half yearly payments &c provided always &c Be it remembered &c.

Wm. Gibson — Granville by Tho. Child — Seal

Jno. Linton

Exam^{d} Jno. Linton

Hallifax ss 8th September 1763. The Execution of this Deed was Duly Proved by the Oath of John Linton witness thereto before Jos. Montfort. Let it be register'd Jos. Montfort, A. J.

Truly Register'd Sam. Benton P. R.

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1 G, 163. (In recording this deed no attention was paid to titles of Granville and all phraseology is eliminated except that which is necessary to the meaning).

One of the Earliest Henry M'Culloh Deeds[1]

THIS INDENTURE made the Twenty fifth day of May in the Twenty ninth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the grace of God of great Britain France and Ireland King defender of the Faith and so forth BETWEEN Henry M'Culloh Esquire of Turnham Green in the County of Middlesex in the Kingdom of Great Britain on the one part and Chauncey Townsend of Austin Fryers London on the other part WHEREAS his most Excellent Majesty King George the second among sundry Grants dated the third Day of March One Thousand Seven hundred Forty Five Gave and Granted unto the said Henry M'Culloh eight Grants containing twelve Thousand and Five Hundred Acres each upon Flatt Enoe and Tarr Rivers and the Branches thereof in North Carolina with all the Rights and Priviledges of Hunting Hawking Fishing and Fowling with all woods waters and Rivers with all Profits and Commodities or Hereditaments to the same belonging or Appertaining to him the said Henry M'Culloh his heirs or Assigns forever in as full and Ample Manner as of the Manor of East Greenwich nevertheless subject to several Limitations and Restrictions as by Relation being there unto had may more fully appear AND WHEREAS after the date of the said Grants the Lands so granted to the said Henry M'Culloh came within the survey or Lines marked out to the Right Honourable John Earl of Granville in Persuance of a Division made Between his most Excellent Majesty and Earl Granville of the said Earl's eighth part of Carolina AND WHEREAS the said Earl by a writing under his hand and Seal dated the ninth day of December One Thousand Seven Hundred Fifty Five hath declared that the said Henry M'Culloh shall enjoy under his Lordship all the Priviledges to certain Lands Lying within his Lordships District of North Carolina which were granted to him by his Majesty's Grant Dated the Third day of March One Thousand and Seven hundred and Forty Five and the said Earl further declared that he gave Particular and express Orders not to take entries or pass Grants at any time of said Lands to any person Whomsoever AND WHEREAS the said Henry M'Culloh did thereupon Covenant and Agree that he shall from Time to Time Oblige all such Persons as shall happen to hold any part of the said Lands by Mesne Conveyances or otherwise under him to Attorn Tenants within Six Month's after the Date of such respective Conveyances for the Payment of Quit-Rents to his Lordship his heirs and Assigns forever as by relation being had to the said Agreements may more fully appear NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH That as well for and in consideration of the sum of One Hundred and Thirty Five Pounds and for divers other good Considerations him thereunto moving and also for and in Consideration of the Covenants Provisos and Agreements herein after mentioned and Contained by and on the part of the said Chauncey Townsend his heirs and Assigns the said Henry M'Culloh hath

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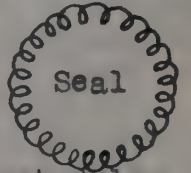
1 G, 245-249.

Given Granted Bargained Sold and Confirmed and by these Presents do Give Grant Bargain Sell and Confirm unto the said Chauncey Townsend his heirs and Assigns forever all that Tract or Parcel of Land Containing Twelve Thousand Five hundred Acres upon the Branches of Nuce Enoe and Tarr Rivers in North Carolina Beginning at a Stake Running thence North Fifty Five East Two hundred and Fifty Chains then South thirty Five East Five hundred Chains thence South Fifty Five West Two hundred and Fifty Chains and then North fifty Five West Five hundred Chains to the first Station Subdivided from the Tract number Twelve bounded by the Tract L. L. to the South West and by the Tract N. N. to the East South East all which Premises are more Particularly described and set forth in the Plan Map thereof hereunto Annext TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said Lands with all the Rights and Priviledges of Hunting Hawking Fishing and Fowling with all woods Waters and Rivers with all Profits Commodities and Hereditaments to the same belonging or appertaining to him the said Chauncey Townsend his heirs and Assigns forever in as full and Ample Manner as of the Manor of East Greenwich except in Case any Mines shall be found on the said Lands One Fifth part of all Gold and Silver Ore and one Tenth part of all other Mines and Minerals whatsoever be reserved for the use of the said Earl Granville his heirs or Assigns forever Yielding and Paying unto the said Earl his heirs or Assigns Twelve Pounds Ten Shillings Proclamation Money of North Carolina Yearly from the Twenty Fifth day of March one Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty at the End of which Term the said Chauncey Townsend doth hereby Covenant Promise and agree to and with the said Henry M'Culloh to Surrender to the said Earl all such Lands as are not Settled in the proportion of one white Person for every two hundred Acres Contained in the said Grants and from thenceforth to pay after the Rate and Proportions of Four Shillings Proclamation Money of North Carolina or Three Shillings Sterling for every Hundred Acres of Land which shall be so Settled by him and also that the said Chauncey Townsend shall from time to time oblige all such Persons as shall happen to hold any part of the said Lands by Mesne Conveyances or otherwise under him to Attorn tenants within Six Months after the date of such Respective Conveyances to his Lordship his heirs and Assigns for payment of their Respective Quit-Rents after the afore-mentioned Rate to his Lordship his heirs and Assigns in every Year forever In Witness whereof the Parties above named have hereunto set their Hands and Seals

Henry M'Culloh 

Signed sealed and Delivered by Henry M'Culloh being first duly stamped in the presence of Tho. Law, I. Owens. This is a Triplicate the Original sent to Carolina

Signed sealed and delivered by
Chauncey Townsend being
first duly Stamped in the
presence of
C. Townsend. Tho. Law

Chauncey Townsend Seal

Reced. 25th May 1759 Chauncey Townsend Esq^{r} One hundred Thirty Five Pounds being the Consideration Money mentioned As Witness my hand 135
Henry M'Culloh

Witness
Tho. Law
I. Owens

TO ALL TO WHOM these presents shall come I Sir Richard Glyn Knight Lord Mayor of the City of London in Persuance of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the Fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Second Intituled an Act for the more easy Recovery of Debts in his Majesties Plantations and Colonies in America DO HEREBY CERTIFY that on the day of the Date hereof personally came and appeared before me, Thomas Law, The Deponent named in the Affidavit hereunto annexed being a Person well known and worthy of good Credit and by Solemn Oath which the said Deponent then took before me upon the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God did Solemnly and Sincerely declare testify and depose to be true the several matters and Things mentioned and Contained in the said annexed Affidavit. IN FAITH AND TESTIMONY whereof I the said Lord Mayor have caused the Seal of the Office of Mayoralty of the said City of London to be hereunto put and Affixed and the Indenture and Letter of Attorney mentioned and Referred to in and by the said Affidavits to be hereunto also Annexed Dated in London the First day of September in the Year of our Lord 1759.

Hodges

LONDON, to wit, Thomas Law of London Merchant maketh oath and saith that he was present and did see Henry M'Culloh by the name and Addition of Henry M'Culloh Esquire of Turnham Green in the County of Middlesex in the Kingdom of Great Britain and Chauncey Townsend by the name and Addition of Chauncey Townsend of Austin Fryers London Severally Sign Seal and as their restrictive Act and Deed in and form of Law Execute and deliver the Original Indenture of Assignment hereunto annexed to and for the uses Intents and purposes therein mentioned and further this Deponent saith that he was also present and did see the said Henry McCulloh subscribe his name on the back of the said Indenture of Assignments, and that he this Deponant and John Owens who was also present at the Execution of the said Indenture of Assignment and at the signing of the said Receipt on the back thereof are subscribing Witness to the same

And further this Deponant Saith that he was present and did see the said Cahuncey Townsend by the name and Addition of Chauncey Townsend of London Esq^{r}. Sign Seal and as his Act and Deed in due form of Law Execute and Deliver the Original Letter of Attorney hereunto annexed to and for the Uses Intents and purposes therein mentioned and that he this Deponent and Charlotte Townsend who was also present at the said Execution of the said Letter of Attorney are subscribing witnesses to the same SWORN the first day of September
One Thousand Tho. Law
Seven hundred and fifty nine Before me at my Mansion House
R. Glyn, Mayor

WHEREAS his present most excellent Majesty King George the second amongst sundry Grants dated the Third day of March One Thousand Seven Hundred and forty five gave and Granted unto Henry M'Culloh Eight Grants containing Twelve Thousand five hundred Acres each upon the Flatt Enoe and Tarr Rivers and the branches thereof in North Carolina with all Rights and Priviledges of Hunting Hawking Fishing and Fowling with all woods waters and Rivers with all profits Commodities or Hereditaments to the same belonging or appertaining to him the said Henry M'Culloh his heirs and Assigns forever in as full and ample manner as of the Manor of East Greenwich nevertheless Subject to Several Limitations and Restrictions as by relations being thereunto had may more fully appear and Whereas by Indenture bearing Date the Twenty fifth day of May One Thousand Seven hundred and fifty Six the said Henry M'Culloh hath sold and Assigned unto Chauncy Townsend of London Esq^{r}. his heirs and Assigns forever one of the said Grants marked M. M. containing Twelve Thousand Five hundred Acres upon the Branches of Nuce Enoe and Tarr Rivers in North America beginning at a Stake Running thence North Fifty five East two hundred and Fifty Chains then South Thirty Five East five hundred Chains then South Fifty Five West Two hundred and Fifty Chains and then North Thirty Five West five hundred Chains to the first STATION Subdivided from the Tract number Twelve and bounded by the Tract L L to the South West and by the tract N N to the East South east. NOW KNOW all men by these Presents that I Chauncey Townsend of London Esq^{r}. have made Constituted and Appointed John Campbell of North Carolina Esq^{r}. my true and Lawful Attorney for me and in my name and for my advantage to lett bargain sell and dispose of in Fee all or any part of the abovementioned Tract of Land of Twelve Thousand Five hundred Acres belonging to me upon the branches of Nues Enoe and Tarr Rivers in North Carolina to such Persons as are Settled there on and to their Heirs and Assigns provided the Lands so disposed of shall not exceed the proportions of one hundred Acres for each white Person contained in their Family and provided also that such person as shall purchase any of the said Lands shall be made Liable to the Conditions and Covenants he the said Henry M'Culloh hath by writing dated the 30 December 1755 entered into with the Right Honble the Earl Granville an Original of other Agreements is Transmitted to North Carolina hereby Certifying attorning and Confirming all and whatsoever my said Attorney shall in name

Lawfully do or cause to be in and about the Premise by virtue of these Presents IN WITNESS whereof the said Chauncey Townsend have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this Tenth day of June one Thousand Seven hundred and Fifty Six.

Chauncey Townsend Seal

Signed Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of us.

C. Townsend. Thos. Law.

Land Grants in Granville County
1746 – 1776
Broken Line Earl of Granville
Solid Line —— Citizen Grants

His Lordship's Proposals[1]

September 27, 1755

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

5. That after the expiration of the said term the said Henry M'Culloh will surrender to His Lordship all such parts of said Lands as shall not be on said twenty fifth of March One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty settled in proportion of 1 white person for every two hundred acres contained in said Grants and also make all those who shall hold any parts of said Lands by meane of Conveyance or otherwise under him to attorn Tenants to His Lordship for the payment of the respective Quit rents.

His Lordship's Concessions

With respect to the first proposal

His Lordship agrees that Henry M'Culloh shall enjoy all those privileges under His Lordship which were intended him by the said of Governor Johnston paying to His Lordship His Heirs or Assigns the Quit Rents to be due and payable for the same in manner hereinafter mentioned.

To the 2nd. His Lordship declares that he gave particular and express Orders to his Agents not to take Entries of pass grants at any time of said Lands to any person whomsoever.

To the 3d. That in consequence of the above the said Henry M'Culloh shall register the said Grants or authentic Transcripts thereof together with the Annext Surveys in His Lordships Land Office in Edenton in North Carolina within twelve Months from the Date hereof and also attorn Tenant to His Lordship at his House in Westminister for the payment of quit rents to be due for said Lands to His Lordship His Heirs and Assigns forever.

To the 4th. His Lordship shall accept of the annual payment of said four hundred pounds in lieu of Quit Rents for said Lands from twenty fifth of March 1757 unto 25 Mar. 1760 provided the

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1 Document in North Carolina Historical Commission Office, Raleigh, N. C. Half of the first page is missing and the title is not intact, but it seems to be "His Lordship's Proposals". The first four proposals are lacking, but the Concessions are plain.

Mr. Lordship's Proposals

* *

said four hundred pounds be regularly paid on said Day in every year unto the said 25 March 1760 inclusive and that the said Henry M'Culloh shall register the said Grants or authentic Transcripts and surveys aforesaid either here or in said office within such limited time as aforesaid provided that from said 25 day of Mar. 1760 the whole annual Quit rents for all such part of said Lands as shall be held by the said Henry M'Culloh His Heirs or Assigns at the rate of 4s proclamation or 3 s Sterling per 100 A. thereof shall be thenceforth paid by the said Henry M'Culloh His Heirs and Assigns to His Lordship His Heirs and Assigns forever.

To the 5th. His Lordship declares that the above Concessions on his part are granted to the said Henry M'Culloh on Condition that He or his Legal Representative shall within Six Months after said twenty fifth Mar. 1760 surrender to His Lordship His Heirs or Assigns by sufficient legal conveyances all such parts of said Lands as shall not happen to be Bona fide settled on said 25 March 1760 in the proportion of 1 white person for every two Hundred Acres and also that the said Henry M'Culloh shall from Time to Time oblige all such persons as shall happen to hold any part of said land by mesne conveyance or Otherwise under him to attorn Tenants within 6 months after the date of such respective Conveyance to His Lordship His Heirs or Assigns for payment of their respective Quit Rents after the aforementioned Rate to His Lordship His Heirs and Assigns in Every year forever.

Henry M'Culloh
Signature and Seal

Granville
Signature and Seal

Sealed and Delivered by the within named John Earl of Granville and Henry M'Culloh in the Presence of

Tho. Child

John Padmore

Merchants Transacting Business in Granville County from 1753 to 1776

Robert Adkinson and Company 1764-1767 [1]

Alexander Donald and Company, Glasgow, Scotland 1775.[2]

George Alston, Granville County, 1771 and 1775.[3]

Thomas Bell 1763 [4]

James and Hugh Belches Cabbin Point, Surry County, Virginia 1763.[5]

Thomas Blunt, Edenton. 1771.[6]

Buckhannon and Company, 1765.[7]

Cannon and Taylor [8]

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1 Granville County Trial Docket 1764-67, in N. C. State Historical Commission Office. Robert Adkinson and Company's name occurs eight times in three years.

2 K, 250. The Company's name occurs once when a deed for 175 acres of land was given the factor for the company, Ebenezer McHarg, by William Cooper.

3 IJ, 122 and L, 61. George Alston is referred to as a merchant of North Carolina, late of Granville County. In one instance he gives a deed for 200 acres of land, and in another he is given power of attorney by Andrew Miller and William Littlejohn also North Carolina merchants with headquarters in Glasgow.

4 F, 486. Bell gave a deed for 640 acres of land to William Williamson.

5 F, 545. The Belches brothers were merchants and partners.

6 IJ, 126. Blunt bought three tracts of land in Granville County, 1½ acres, 50 acres and 663 acres.

7 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67). The name occurs only once.

8 L, 81. In a deed written in 1773 a tract of land is described as being near where Cannon and Taylor formerly "kept store".

Deeds and Transferring Business in
Granville County from 1753 to 1779

[illegible]

[illegible] Donald and Company, Oxford, Granville, 1779.[1]

[illegible] Bell, 1763.[2]

[illegible]

[illegible].[3]

[illegible] Plumb, Mebane, 1778.[4]

[illegible]son and Company, 1778.[5]

[illegible] and Taylor[6]

[illegible] Granville County Deeds, Book [illegible], in N. C. State Historical [illegible]son Office. Robert Ashford and Company's name occurs [illegible] times in these deeds.

[illegible]. The Company's name occurs once when a deed for 272 acres [illegible] is given the Sheriff for the company. Sheriff [illegible] Christopher.

[illegible] Book [illegible], Granville County Deeds. [illegible] is given [illegible] by Jackson Miller and Thomas Clarke, [illegible] Jonathan Mebane with mortgaged to Ashford.

[illegible]. Will pays a debt for 850 acres of land to William [illegible].

[illegible]. The Second [illegible] Deeds.

[illegible], of acres and one acre.

[illegible] County Court Docket (1778-87). The name occurs only [illegible]

[illegible] a law written in 1779 a tract of land is described as

Duncan Campbell and Company, Granville County, 1774.[9]

Robert Carmichael and Company 1770.[10]

Andrew Cochran and Company 1766 and 1767.[11]

John Dickerson, Granville County, 1768.[12]

Dickens and Parker, Orange County, 1773 and 1774.[13]

Robert Dickens 1771 and 1772.[14]

Duncan and Company 1765.[15]

James Dunlop, Nansemond County, Virginia, 1768.[16]

Figures and Company, 1764 and 1765.[17]

Forsyth Watson and Company, 1766.[18]

John Gibbs and Company, 1765.[19]

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9 K, 223. The company bought 100 acres of land.

10 IJ, 118. Robert Carmichael and Company is referred to as being the former name of a trade carried on by John Alston, Robert Carmichael and John Young "of Glasgow, North Britain in partnership in North America."

11 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67). The company is mentioned once in 1766 and three times in 1767.

12 K, 140.

13 K, 188 and 262.

14 K, 35; IJ, 215.

15 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

16 H, 542. Dunlop bought 1684 acres of land from a Halifax merchant.

17 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

18 H, 171. Evidently this company failed because they made over their property in full to other merchants.

19 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

Gordon and Company, 1765, 1769, 1771, 1772, 1773.[20]

Hamilton and Company, Nansemond County, Virginia.[21] and Halifax 1763-1775 [22]

Hartley and Company, 1764-66 [23]

John Hill, Bertie County, 1761 [24]

Peter Howard and Company, 1765 [25]

John Hyndman, London, 1759 [26]

Joseph Hyndman, London, 1759 [27]

Lenox and Company, 1764-66 [28]

Andrew Miller and William Littlejohn 1771 [29]

McCall Elliot and Company, Granville County [30] and Glasgow 1774, and 1775. [31]

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20 IJ, 21; K, 15, 10, 195; Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

21 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim; H, 167.

22 IJ, 386.

23 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

24 E, 59.

25 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

26 C, 592 and 569.

27 C, 592.

28 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

29 IJ, 122.

30 K, 194.

31 K, 89.

[28] ... and Company, 1765, 1766, 1771, 1773, 1774.

[29] ... Martin 1763-1776

[30] ... and Company, 1768

[31] ... Bynman, London, 1758

[32] ... and Company, 1754-58

[33] ... ller and William Gretsheim 1771

[34] Miller and Company, Greenville County

[35] 1791, and 1795.

Murdock and Company, 1764-66 [32]

Thomas Mutter, Granville County, 1769, 1775 [33]

James Newsome and Henry Walker, Petersburg, Virginia 1761.[34]

Robert Newsome and Company, 1765.[35]

Robert Reid and Company, 1764-69.[36]

David Rogers, Halifax, 1761.[37]

James Shoddon and John Hyndman, Smithfield in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, 1753.[38]

Alexander Spiers and Company, Glasgow, 1773 [39]

John Steele, 1758 [40]

Aquilla Sugg, Tarburg, 1762 [41]

Michael Synnot, 1753 [42]

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32 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

33 H, 512; IJ, 312; K, 84; 236; L, 13.

34 D, 384.

35 Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

36 Ibid., passim; L, 18; IJ, 24.

37 E, 64.

38 B, 403

39 K, 13.

40 C, 546.

41 F, 138.

42 B, 403.

Henning Temble, Halifax, 1761 [43]

John Thompson and Company, 1765-67 [44]

Walker and Company, 1765 [45]

Hopkins Wilder, Edgecombe County, 1748 [46]

Wilson and Company, 1764-65 [47]

James Young and Company, Halifax, 1764-1774 [48]

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[43] H, 542.

[44] Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim; IJ, 390.

[45] Ibid., passim.

[46] A, 82.

[47] Granville County Trial Docket (1764-67), passim.

[48] Ibid., passim; IJ, 399.

Prices of Various Articles and Commodities in Colonial Granville.[1]

Household Equipment

	L	S	D
3 beds and furniture - 4 steads and cords	3	3	0
1 table and chest	0	6	0
6 chairs	0	12	6
some pewter	0	15	0
3 basins	0	4	0
1 Dutch oven	1	10	6
1 coffee pot	0	5	8
1 flax wheel	0	8	4
1 suit of clothes	3	0	0
1 suit of clothes and pair of buckles	3	0	0
1 butter pot and mug	0	3	10
1 mug	0	0	8
1 can of knives and forks	0	10	0
3 books	0	2	0
1 flax heckle	0	2	10
2 bottles and a mug	0	2	7
1 tub	0	3	0
2 piggins	0	1	6
1 frying pan	0	4	0
2 old broken pots	0	6	0
1 old broken pot	0	2	0
1 iron spoon and fork	0	2	0
1 churn	0	2	0
1 pair fire tongs and paper box	0	2	4
2 gallons of brandy	0	16	0
1 pair shoes	0	8	4
24 yards of Bumbozene for mourning	5	8	4
bumbozene coat and waist coat for boy	5	16	$\frac{3}{4}$
stocking pattern and trimmings	1	18	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ yard black silk persian	0	4	4
3 pair women's store gloves	1	4	$\frac{3}{4}$
2 yards black ribbon	0	2	$4\frac{1}{2}$
3 pair women's black gloves	0	8	3
2 black berselone handkerchiefs	0	19	0

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1 All prices mentioned in this list come from Granville County Record Book, I, 61-116. (In the Clerk of Court's Office, Oxford, N. C.) They cover the period from 1767 to 1774.

	L	S	D
1 satin hat and 5 yards shalloon	1	5	3
5 hanks sewing silk	0	3	1½
13 yards Irish linen	3	0	8
1 ounce thread and 3 dozen needles	0	3	5½
5 yards linen	2	15	7½
1 pair stays	1	9	4
6 yards oznabriss	0	6	0
10 yards sheeting	1	13	4
1 pair shoes for a girl	0	10	0
2 boys' hats	0	2	10¼
material for boy's coat and making it	1	7	8
2 pairs women's store shoes	1	0	0
making a pair of leather breeches	0	6	8
14 yards black silk bumbozene and handkerchief woman's shoes and 1 pair silk mits	6	1	5
cotton and oznabriss for negro clothes	2	3	4
2 bushels salt	0	13	4
1 pot rack	0	11	8
1 old broken pot	0	1	0
1 pair of knee buckles	0	2	0
1 quire of paper	0	1	3
1 sack of salt	0	6	0
3 pairs of shoes @ 6/10. 3/6. 3/0	0	12	6
1 pair of shoes	0	6	0
making 2 shirts	0	6	0
1 pair buckles	0	2	0
1 hat brush	0	0	6
1 box and book	0	5	0
2 counterpanes	1	1	1
1 book and spectacles	0	4	6
1 brass kettle	0	8	0
1 desk and book case	9	12	6
1 Salmon's Geography	0	10	0
1 pocket ink horn	0	2	6
1 pair shoes half soled	0	0	9
3 jackets made	2	0	6
2 pairs shoes	0	11	3
3 dozen buttons	0	10	5½
1 pair shoes	0	3	0
1 pair shoes (mending)	0	1	3

Farming Supplies

2 cows	1	0	0
2 cows and yearling	1	5	0
1 cow and yearling	3	19	0
4 head of cattle	5	7	0
1 man's saddle	1	2	6
1 grind stone	0	15	6
1 Jack plow	0	13	0
1 half shear	0	10	0

	L	S	D
1 barrel	0	4	0
1 barrel and chair	0	0	6
1 hand saw	0	4	6
1 drawing knife	0	8	7
1 adz	0	6	8
1 curry comb and brush	0	2	4
1 Wheel	0	1	4
1 wagon and harness	35	3	0
1 rifle gun	5	0	0
2 raw hides	0	18	6
2 raw hides	0	10	6
3 barrels of corn	1	10	0
6 barrels of corn	3	4	0
1 tobacco hogshead	0	2	6
1 still and worm	22	11	0
1 tobacco hogshead	0	4	8
8 tobacco hogsheads	0	9	2
47 barrels corn	23	10	0
30 barrels corn	14	1	3
building a tobacco house	2	0	6
hauling 5 hogsheads of tobacco to Petersburg	7	10	0
1 mare	0	4	0
11 hogsheads of tobacco made in 1772	1	7	6
1 large gray horse	13	10	0
carrying 2 hogsheads of tobacco	3	0	0
ferriage on 11 hogsheads tobacco made in 1773	1	7	6
1 calf, 2 sheep and 6 hogs	1	13	0
1 horse bridle and bell and 1 mare colt and bell	21	3	0
1 horse	0	8	1
1 mare	0	8	0
1 colt	00	13	1
1 colt	0	16	10
25 cattle	40	0	0
31 hogs	20	2	6
1 barrel of corn	0	10	0
40 barrels of corn	16	0	0
32¾ gallons of grandy	4	18	3
10 tobacco hogsheads and 1 brandy barrel	0	16	0
Virginia cloth	1	6	6
1 wheel	0	10	0
5 Negroes	251	1	10
1 negro cate (Kate)	30	0	0
1 wench and child	113	1	0

Incidental Expenses

	L	S	D
Lawyer's advice about proving a will	0	10	0
Clerk's duties concerning probate of a will	0	10	8
Clerk's record of a will, letters evidence and inventory	2	1	4
Auctioneering an estate	1	10	0
Clerk's and register's fees on a deed	0	6	8
Preaching a funeral sermon	2	0	0
Administrator's services and expenses in settling an estate	10	0	0
Doctor's account	0	8	0
Another doctor's account	0	16	0
Liquor for the bidders at a land sale	0	8	4
Granny Hunt for bringing Sary to bed as they call it	0	13	4
Surveying a tract of land	0	14	4
Liquor at a land sale	0	10	0
One Coffin	0	12	6
Clerk's fee for recording an account	0	4	0
One Coffin	0	2	6
Boarding two boys during 1771	12	0	0
Pailing in a grave	0	3	9
Boarding two boys during 1772	14	0	0
Boarding two boys 12 months and 1 boy 6 months (1773)	20	0	0
Boarding 3 boys 1774	24	0	0
Teaching 3 boys one year	11	10	0

List of Farming Equipment in Use in Granville County during the Colonial Period.[1]

1755 [2]
- 1 small gun
- 1 horse

1761 [3]
- 8 cider hogsheads
- 1 grinding stone
- 1 ax

1767 [4]
- liquor
- 4 tobacco hogsheads
- 1 set of smith's tools
- 47 barrels corn

1770 [5]
- 1 woman's saddle
- 1 parcel of carpenter's tools
- 1 parcel of cooper's tools
- 1 set of shoe maker's tools
- 1 pair steelyards
- 4 plow hoes
- 1 plow share
- 4 weeding hoes
- 4 hilling hoes
- 1 sand compass
- 1 bellows
- 1 iron harrow
- 2 cross cut saws
- 8 hinges

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1 Practically all the sources containing lists of farming equipment are limited to the latter part of the period. No article is counted a second time.

2 B, 465.

3 E, 429.

4 Granville County Record Book, I, 50. (In Clerk of Court's Office, Oxford, N. C.)

5 Inventory of Thomas Lowe's Estate, Granville County Record Book, I, 79.

1772 [6]

2 reap hooks
2 plow horses
3 sides of leather
grubbing hoes
1 cow bell
2 narrow axes
1 brandy barrel

1773 [7]

1 man's saddle
lumber
1 Jack plow
½ shear
1 hand saw
1 drawing knife
1 adz
1 curry comb and brush
1 wheel
1 wagon and harness
1 rifle gun
5 rawhides and a piece.

1774 [8]

1 horse bridle and bell
mattocks
hatchets
iron wedge
powdering tub
washing tub
locks
foot adz
drawing knife
1 cart
1 pocket compass and magnet
1 pair pistols
1 still and worm

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6 Account of the Sale of Jonathan White's Estate, Granville County Record Book, I, 7, 8. (In Clerk of Court's Office, Oxford, N. C.) Account of Sale of Robert Pryor's Estate, Ibid., 11.

7 Account of the sale of John Harris' Estate, Ibid., 61.

8 Inventory of Benjamin Harrison's Estate, Ibid., 45;- Inventory of James McGehee's Estate, Ibid., 85; True account of Sale of Estate of Nicholas Holstein, Ibid., 80-81, 92; Inventory of George Whitlock's Estate, Ibid., 63.

1 bar of iron
1 pair of shot molds
augers
square and compass
5 beehives
rasp
files
5 chisels
5 whetstones
1 sword
1 branding iron
1 wagon cover
1 pair hand mill stones
1 barrel of tar
1 "scimmer" (skimmer)
1 cart body
1 anvil
1 tar bucket
1 hay fork
1 copper still, worm, and tub
1 vinegar keg
6 meal bags
1 broad ax
1 claw hammer
1 fish gig

List of Household Equipment [1]

1 stone pitcher
1 teapot
1 looking glass
1 pepper box
1 mouse trap
1 flat iron
1 cupboard
1 piggin
1 set candle molds
1 candle stick and snuffer
1 hone and razor
1 spit
1 dram glass
1 set wool cards
1 set cotton cards
18 books
1 sword
6 flax wheels
1 ink holder
2 ganders and 3 ducks
2 copper pennies
1 meal tray
2 meal sifters
1 loom
1 spinning wheel
2 dishes
12 plates
6 earthen plates
3 cups
2 saucers
1 butter pot
1 sauce pan
4 benches
1 cradle
5 books
4 guns
3 water vessels
3 walnut tables
3 sugar boxes
1 caster

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[1] Items not included in the prices of Household Equipment elsewhere in this appendix. These articles came from inventories where prices are not given. This list comes from Granville County Record Book, I, 61-116 (1767-1774). (In the Clerk of Court's Office, Oxford, N. C.)

List of [illegible]

2 punch bowls
1 punch ladle
2 decanters
2 drinking glasses
2 salt cellars
6 teaspoons
2 pairs of money scales
9 books
5 jugs
2 copper kettles
2 water pails
1 tobacco dish
1 pocket book
2 ink stands
1 silver watch
3 table mats
1 bed warmer
1 clothes brush
1 dusting brush
9 skillets
16 pewter plates
3 pewter basins
4 tea cannisters
1 spice mortar and pestle
2 histories
2 feather beds
2 trunks.

List of Virginians Who Moved into Granville County During the Colonial Period [1]

1746
- Samuel Howell - Brunswick
- Edward Greene - Brunswick
- Abridgeton Jones - Isle of Wight
- Jesse Hargraves - Surry

1747
- David Kelly - Brunswick
- John Person - Isle of Wight
- Robert Jones - Surry
- David Meade - Nansemond
- William Howlett - Hanover
- William Chambers - Albemarle
- Paul Harralson - Albemarle

1748
- Duplicates

1749
- Linton Hoyle - Brunswick
- John Harralson - Albemarle
- Robert Moody - Amelia

1750
- Thomas Hawkins - Lunenburg
- Jonathan Godwin - Nansemond
- John Knight - Lunenburg
- John Harris - Hanover
- Thomas Bell - Surry
- John Zachary - Culpepper

---

1 These names were obtained from a summary of Granville County deeds that were registered from 1746 to 1776, and, of course, the list includes only the names of those who were registered landholders. The name of each settler is followed by the Virginia county from which he migrated.

1751

Dr. Henning Temble - Nansemond
Jethro Sumner - Nansemond
John Nicholson - Surry

1752

James Yancey - Hanover
Henry Howard - Lunenburg
Banjamin Harrison - Surry
William Hurst - Isle of Wight
Robert Abernethy - Prince George
Samuel Witt - Halifax
John Boyd - Halifax
John Macklain - Brunswick
John Sims - Hanover
Stephen Terry - Hanover
Thomas Ford - Hanover

1753

Robert Mitchell - Lunenburg
Richard Yancey - Louisa
John Moseley - Cumberland
William Wommack - Brunswick
Robert Savage - Surry
John Sandland, Sr. - Goochland
Daniel Williams - Louisa
John Ellis - Surry

1754

John Robinson - Lunenburg
Aaron Hardwick - Westmoreland
Edward Bullock - Hanover
George Cox - Northumberland
Benjamin Robinson - Surry
John Davis - Lunenburg

1755

David Williams - Louisa
Richard Palmer - Lunenburg
Jacob Williamson - Chesterfield
Anselas Bailey - Surry
John Middleton - Westmoreland
Thomas Warren - Surry

1756

Julius Nichols - Lunenburg
John Abernethy - Brunswick
Daniel Butts - Southampton
Charles Williams - Dinwiddie
Howell Lewis - Goochland
Thomas Aiken - Lunenburg
John Wilson - Bedford

1757

Drury Smith - Halifax
William Judkins - Surry
James Mitchell - Lunenburg
John Ingram - Brunswick
John Gillam - Lunenburg
Michael Satterwhite - Lunenburg
James Byars - Hanover
Baxter Davis - Lunenburg

1758

Samuel Pepper - Prince William
Drury Allen - Lunenburg
William Denton - Hanover
Joseph Shearman - Brunswick
Zachariah Smith - Halifax
Miles Williams - Dinwiddie
Samuel Jones - Amelia
John Massey - Brunswick
Cutbrid Hudson - Amelia
Phillip Burford - Louisa

1759

John Williams - Lunenburg
William Taylor - Lunenburg
William Stroud - Lunenburg
James Goodall - Lunenburg
Edward Bond - Cumberland
John Gillam - Lunenburg

1760

Pinkethman Hawkins - Lunenburg
John Gowen - Lunenburg
Phillip Taylor - Caroline C
Jonah Varsar - Amelia
William Judkins - Surry
Edwin Howlin - Brunswick
William Taylor - Southampton
William Jones - Lunenburg
Solomon Atkinson - Halifax

William Royster - Lunenburg
John Brassic - Lunenburg
Lewis Harris - Southampton
William Nelson - York

1761

Thomas Lanier - Lunenburg
Thomas Christmas - Hanover
William Tabb - Dinwiddie
John Perdue - Amelia
Heptha Howlin - Sussex
Stephen Golighthy - Prince George
John Williams Graves - Hanover
Thomas McNeill - Spotsylvania
Thomas Doswell - Hanover
James Strother - Culpepper
Joseph Studdurt - Brunswick
John Potter - Lunenburg
Isaac Hudson - Lunenburg
William Hill - Lunenburg
Charles Wade - Halifax
Benjamin Kendrick - Hanover

1762

Peter Overby - Lunenburg
Thomas Hill - Lunenburg
James Terry - Hanover
Rowland Terry - Hanover
John Speed - Lunenburg
Thomas Norfleet - Nansemond
Moses Street - Lunenburg
Elisha Burk - Lunenburg
Thomas Banks - Carolina

1763

John Walker, Jr. - Louisa
Christopher Forster - Southampton
Josiah Randle - Brunswick
John Mask - Hanover
James Briant - Brunswick
John Henderson - Brunswick
Edmund Taylor - Lunenburg
John Bird - Nansemond
John Taylor - Nansemond
Joshua Nelms - Northumberland
John Malone - Dinwiddie
Drury Smith - Lunenburg

1764

Daniel Bruce - Southampton
Matthew Morrell - Southampton
Simon Turner - Brunswick
Samuel Gordon - Prince George
William Hunt - Dinwiddie
William Gooch - Hanover
Joseph Horton - Nansemond
Nathaniel Roberson - Lunenburg
Allen Groves - Nansemond
Moses Span - Bedford
Chisley Daniel - Lunenburg

1765

Terisha Turner - Bedford
John Earl - Lunenburg
John Holly - Caroline
William Potter - Dinwiddie
John Hightower - Amelia

1766

George Tilman - Brunswick
Edmund Bearden - Mecklenburg

1767

James Butler - Brunswick
Gray Smith - Mecklenburg
William Briant - Brunswick
John Young - Essex

1768

Robert Crawley - Mecklenburg
Robert Beasley - Lunenburg
William Lowndes - Mecklenburg
George White - Mecklenburg
John White - Mecklenburg
Eliza Kennon - Goochland
James Johnson - Cumberland
Vinckler Jones - Mecklenburg
William Amis - Essex
John Potter - Mecklenburg
William Hawks - Dinwiddie
James Dunlap - Nansemond

1769
James Terry - Louisa
David Lewis - Albemarle
Edward Wilburn - Faquier
Charles Cook - Lunenburg

1770
Humphrey Davis - Essex
James Puckett - Amelia
Jacob Mitchell - Mecklenburg

1771
Henry Lyne - King and Queen
William Webb - Essex

1772
David Bridges - Pittsylvania
Baxter Ragsdale - Lunenburg
Roland Gooch - Mecklenburg
John Penn - King and Queen
Thomas Aplin - Amelia

1773
John Parnell - Accomac
Robert Montfort - Mecklenburg
John Hudspeth - Mecklenburg

1774
John Lewis - Halifax
John Collins - Halifax

1775
Josiah Daniel - Albemarle
Richard Taylor - Mecklenburg

1776
John Given - Mecklenburg

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